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VOLUME THE NINTH:

CONTAINING

VISITATIONS OF CHURCHES IN THE PATRONAGE OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

"THE SPOUSELLS" OF THE PRINCESS MARY, 1508.

A COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL LETTERS FROM THE BISHOPS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL, 1564.

PAPERS RELATING TO THOMAS WENTWORTH, FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

HAMILTON PAPERS. ADDENDA.

MEMOIRS OF NATHANIEL, LORD CREWE.

THE JOURNAL OF MAJOR RICHARD FERRIER, M.P., 1687.

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VISITATIONS OF CHURCHES BELONGING TO ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

1249—1252.

EDITED FROM ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS

BY

W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.,

SUB-DEAN AND LIBRARIAN OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, ONE OF THE HONORARY LIBRARIANS OF HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XCV.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Visitations of Churches now printed are of earlier date than those contained in the Camden Society's volume entitled *Visitations of Churches belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral in 1297 and in 1458.* They are transcribed from a manuscript amongst the cathedral records known as Liber L.,[a] a volume of so great importance that Mr. Maxwell Lyte devotes nearly seventeen closely printed columns to a calendar of its contents in the ninth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Archdeacon Hale, in the preface to his *Domesday of St. Paul's*, observes that "this is a most interesting volume." It is thus described in Lisieux's[b] Catalogue: "Contenta in quodam antiquo et notabili Registro, de tempore Will'i Conquestoris, clauso cum uno nodulo in medio, 2° folio in Rubrica *Privilegium*, signatus cum litera L." The book in its present state answers in every respect to the description, except that the *nodulus*, or button, by which it was fastened has been taken away. No part of it will bear out the statement of its very early date but the first twenty-six folios; the remainder of the book is of the latter part of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with some insertions (on parchment larger and smaller than the original manuscript) written in the fourteenth century.

Mr. Maxwell Lyte assigns the earlier part of the volume to the middle of the twelfth century.

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[a] *See* pages 60 b—69 a. The press mark of the MS. is W. D. 4.

[b] Thomas Lisieux, Dean of St. Paul's, 1441-1456.

The Visitations now, for the first time, edited, were made during the years ranging from 1249 to 1252. The churches visited are those of which a sufficiently full account has been given in the volume of *Visitations* already referred to, and it will not therefore be necessary to repeat in this place the topographical details which have there been supplied. Nor has it been thought necessary to repeat explanations of words which were dealt with in the other volume, to which this is indeed a supplement.

In 1249 and 1250 Willesdon and Tillingham were visited; in 1251 Twyford, Navestock, Walton, and Kirkby, and probably St. Pancras and Thorpe; and in 1252 Chiswick, Aldbury, Pelham Arsa, and Pelham Furneaux, and probably Westlee, Barling, and Heybridge.

During the period occupied by these Visitations Henry de Cornhill was Dean of St. Paul's. Dugdale, in his list of deans,[a] dismisses him in two lines; and Henry Wharton[b] grants him only fifteen, in which brief notice there is very little of interest unless it be thought worth while to record that he bestowed upon the cathedral some vestments and a book. The vestments were a cope, chasuble, dalmatic, and tunic, "de purpureo sameto cum garbis breudatis,"[c] and the book was a "Liber Ordinarii secundum Albericum, per eundem in aliquo emendatur, qui habet Kalendarium in principio. Incipit *Ecce dies veniunt*, et continet Capitularium, et Collectarium, Antiphonarium, et Ympnarium, et finit in Ympno *Rerum Deus*;

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[a] Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, 224.

[b] *Historia de Episcopis et Decanis Londinensibus*, 207, 208.

[c] An inventory of the plate, vestments, &c., belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral, taken in 1245, records another valuable gift:—

"Pannus magnus sericus rubeus, cum magnis rotis et binis leonibus cristatis in rotis purpureis, et flores inter rotas. Rex dedit Decano, et Decanus postea dedit Ecclesiae."

Possibly also another entry may indicate a gift from the same liberal donor:—

"Capa fusca de panno serico breudata cum minutis gladeolis et minutis bisanciis et floribus minutis. Hanc breudare fecit Henricus Cancellarius et postea Decanus." Printed in *Archaeologia*, vol. 50.

et Psalterium imponitur, de novo, effigitur per cathenam in vestibulo." His obit was kept yearly at St. Paul's "expending thereat xiijs. iiijd."[a]

But Henry de Cornhill is not to be dismissed in quite so summary a manner. He played his part manfully in a very stirring incident, endeavouring to maintain the liberties of the Bishop of London and the cathedral against the encroachments, as he deemed them, of Archbishop Boniface.

The venerated Bishop Roger Niger, "canonised by popular acclamation," had passed to his rest on Michaelmas Day, 1241. For three years the See of London was allowed to remain vacant, and was at length filled by Fulk Basset, a nobleman of old Norman blood, of whom Dean Milman has much to say in his *Annals of St. Paul's*.[b] Fulk, Lord Basset, of Wycombe, was a baron by tenure. He had been Provost of Beverley and Dean of York, and was consecrated Bishop of London in 1244. He was a firm supporter of the national party, and certainly no lover of the proud prelate who ruled the province with a rod of iron.

Boniface, a son of Thomas, Count of Savoy, was enthroned at Canterbury on All Saints' Day, 1249; Queen Eleanor of England, daughter of his sister Beatrice (herself the mother of four queens), was present at the gorgeous ceremonial.[c] He soon resolved to make a visitation of his province, a scheme which encountered a determined, though useless, resistance. As part of his plan, he gave notice that he would visit St. Paul's Cathedral.

"On the day appointed he appeared, with an armed retinue, at the great west door. Here he was met by the Dean, a venerable old man, well versed in ecclesiastical affairs, Henry of Cornhill. The Dean was attended by the Chapter. The Dean and Chapter respectfully represented that, by their statutes, the Bishop of the

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[a] Dugdale, *History*, 316, 321, 323, 328.

[b] *Annals*, second edition, 56 et seqq.

[c] Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, iii. 229, 230.

Diocese, and not the Metropolitan, was their visitor. The Archbishop gave orders to his attendants, and they forced an entrance into the cathedral. The cathedral was empty. The usual forms and ceremonies adopted when a visitor entered a church were omitted. No organ sounded. There was no array of the priests; no choir. The silence was only broken by the tramp of the Archbishop's attendants, whose step was martial, though their outer garments were sacerdotal. The primate approached the choir; the doors were closed. He went to the Chapter House, there to admonish, as he said, the clergy; but he could not obtain admission."[a] Greatly enraged, he excommunicated the Dean and Chapter for having resisted the rights of the See of Canterbury.

That it required no little courage thus to withstand the proud Archbishop will be sufficiently evident to those who read the graphic account, given by Dean Hook, of the primate's visit to the priory of St. Bartholomew on the day following his entry into the cathedral. Here also solemn protest was made against his intrusion, and it devolved upon the sub-prior to utter the firm but modest protest of his brethren. "A blow from the young Archbishop's fist was the first answer which the aged sub-prior received; and when he was felled to the earth the Archbishop rushed at him with uncontrollable fury, dealing blow after blow, now on his head, now on his face, now on his breast; cursing, swearing, calling for a sword to make an end of him, and shouting in his madness, 'Thus, thus will I deal with these English traitors.' The canons rushed to the rescue of their sub-prior. A tumult ensued; but nothing could appease the rage of the Archbishop. He crushed the poor old man between two of the stalls, and redoubling his blows at the same time almost annihilated him. The blood of the English was now fairly up. They rushed upon the Archbishop; they dragged him from his victim. As they dashed him aside the rattle of armour was heard, and tearing off his rochet, they exposed to public view the Primate of All England holding his Visitation encased in armour."[a]

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[a] Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, iii. 255.

The story is very picturesquely told by Dean Hook in the passages just cited. Those who desire to compare this account with the original authority should turn to Matthew Paris.[b] The Dean does not at all exaggerate the ferocity of the Archbishop. Matthew Paris says: "Iratus valde et comminans, Decanum et quosdam alios de dignioribus ecclesiae praecipitanter in spiritu irae et furoris excommunicavit." Whilst in recording the incident at St. Bartholomew's his words are full of life and force:—

"Quod[c] audiens Archiepiscopus, in iram secus quam deceret aut expediret furoris conversus, irruit in suppriorem, suaeque conditionis et suorum antecessorum sanctitatis immemor, ipsum sanctum virum, sacerdotem et religiosum in medio ecclesiae existentem, pugno impie tum percussit, tum in pectus senile, tum in faciem venerabilem, tum in canum caput impulit truculenter multotiens, clamosa voce dicens: 'Siccine, siccine, decet Anglicos proditores impetere'; et horribilius cum juramentis irrecitabilibus delirans, gladium suum expostulavit festinanter afferri. Et cum multiplicarentur tumultus, et niterentur canonici suum suppriorem de manibus tam violenter opprimentis liberare, ipse Archiepiscopus capam illam preciosam, qua supprior indutus erat, dilaceravit, et firmaculum, quod vulgariter morsus dicitur, avulsit, et inter pedes catervatim irruentium conculcatum est et amissum, quod auro et argento et gemmis fuerat pretiosum; sed et ipsa capa nobilissima conculcata et distracta irrestaurabiliter violabatur; nec adhuc aversus est furor archiepiscopalis. Ipsum namque sanctum virum impetu violento repellens et retroire cogens, ad unam spondam, quae duos de stallis dividebat et pro podio facta fuit, adeo senile corpus pressit, ut ossa cum medullis conquassaret et praecordia collideret furibundus."

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[a] Dean Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, iii. 257, 258.

[b] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v. 121-123, and *Additamenta*, vi. 198, &c., in the Master of the Rolls series.

[c] That is, the sub-prior's protest.

The hot blood of the Archbishop must have made him a dangerous antagonist: and when to his extreme violence the *juramenta irrecitabilia* were added, the very sanctuary itself in no way restraining him, it is not surprising that four of the canons of St. Bartholomew's carried the matter to the King, displaying before him the "ictuum vestigia, cruorem scilicet, livorem, et tumorem, et vestes laceratas." The sub-prior, meanwhile, lay groaning in the infirmary, unable to recover from the shock. The King, however, defended the Archbishop.

Certainly Henry de Cornhill was a brave man, when he withstood to the face this turbulent prelate. The Dean, of course, appealed to the Pope, and the excommunication was for a while suspended. But "the uncle of the Queen of England, the now wealthy Primate of England, could not but obtain favour with Innocent. The Dean of St. Paul's was compelled to submit to the supreme archiepiscopal authority."[a] The papal decree of Innocent IV., compelling the submission of the Dean and Chapter, was issued in 1252, just at the very time when these parochial Visitations were in progress.

It is interesting to notice that when, some centuries after, Archbishop Laud proposed to visit St. Paul's Cathedral, the Dean and Chapter protested strongly against such exercise of jurisdiction. Their petition to the King is printed in Dugdale, and in it they state that "it doth not appear, by any records belonging to His Grace or to the Church, that the Dean and Chapter have ever been visited by any Metropolitical power, notwithstanding the rest of the diocese hath been so visited."[b]

Had they forgotten Archbishop Boniface?

Their protest was unavailing, the King commanding their submission.

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[a] Milman, *Annals of St. Paul's*, second edition, 58.

[b] Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, 415.

As the Introduction to the *Visitations of 1297 and 1458* is somewhat full, it will only be necessary in the present instance to draw attention to any features in which this earlier series of Visitations differs from the later, and to add a few details omitted from the former volume.

It is certainly worth while to exhibit the exact mode of procedure in these parochial Visitations, and this can hardly be better accomplished than by printing the *Articuli Visitationis Ecclesiarum* as found in the *Statuta Majora*,[a] a fine manuscript still preserved at St. Paul's Cathedral. The original document contains not only the articles for the visitation of churches, but also those for the visitation of *Manors* and of *Firmae*; and the full title is here retained, although the portion relating to the churches alone is printed. The document may be dated *circa* A.D. 1320.

"*Articuli Visitacionis Ecclesiarum, Maneriorum, et Firmarum Capituli Sancti Pauli Londoniarum.*

Primo de Spiritualibus.

§ 1. An cancellae et ecclesiae cum suis cimiteriis, in ornamentis, libris, vasis, operimentis, clausuris, et ceteris necessariis, prout convenit, custodiantur: et si non, qui sunt defectus, et cujus estimacionis.

§ 2. Item, de moribus, vita, et conversacione Vicariorum, Capellanorum, et Clericorum ecclesiis serviencium, an sint sufficientes ad regendum curas eis commissas, et an Vicarii sint residentes, prout artantur; et si per eorum defectum ecclesiæ officium, vel devocio parochianorum minuatur, vel si aliquis parochianorum obierit sine viatico, vel sacramentis ecclesiæ: qui et qualiter.

§ 3. Item, an predicti Vicarii, Capellani, vel Clerici, seu aliqui de parochianis sint diffamati de usura, adulterio, fornicacione, vel aliis criminibus: qui et de quibus.

§ 4. Item, qui parochiani debeant redditus, in pecunia, cera, vel oleo, aut rebus aliis ad defectus ecclesiae reparandos, vel luminaria sustentanda: et si aliqua sint subtracta, quae et per quem." [a]

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[a] *Statuta Majora*, folio 90. The volume is called *Statuta Majora* on account of the large bold character in which it is written: the *Statuta Minora* contains more statutes than the larger volume.

It is greatly to be regretted that very little is recorded with regard to the matters treated of in the second clause, as much valuable information in respect of local customs and usages might have been gathered from the answers to such enquiries. A few hints, indeed, are given, but that is all; and these are only of small importance. Thus at Pelham Arsa in 1458,[b] complaint is made that the vicar keeps his horse in the churchyard "contra honestatem ecclesiæ"; and the Inquisitores further say, "quod Vicarius multum exercet forum contra honestatem suam, et quod dictus Vicarius non publicat sententenciam excommunicacionis, etc. Et dicunt quod Vicarius inter solempnia horarum canonicarum confabulat cum parochianis suis, aliquando cum viris et aliquando cum mulieribus."

Answers to the enquiries arising out of Clauses 1 and 4 are very fully given.

A few notes relating to the service books, vestments, chrisoms, lights, surnames, etc., will suffice to make this volume intelligible if read in connection with the *Introduction* prefixed to the Visitations of 1297 and 1458.

Service books. The service books enumerated do not call for special mention. Some are found in poor condition, some deficient of leaves and sections, some with an inaccurate text, whilst in many cases the binding is defective.

At Aldbury the books appear to have been grievously neglected, and the visitors have to set down a Missal "habens multa folia rupta"; a Breviary "male ligatus et male custoditus"; an ancient Psalter "male sufficiens, quia male custoditum"; an Antiphonary "cum foliis ruptis et male custoditus"; and a Liber Ordinalis in quires unbound.

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[a] Archdeacon Hale, *Domesday of St. Paul's*, Camden Society, p. 156*. (The numberings of the sections are not found in the MS.)

[b] *Visitations in* 1297 *and* 1458, p. 105.

Occasionally, as at Chiswick, the treasurer of St. Paul's had sent a Missal to replace a defective volume; or, as at Kirkby, the Chapter had sent an Omeliarium, as indeed they had also presented a good *Vestimentum Principale.*

Of the ancient use of St. Paul's,[a] an Antiphonarium is found at Willesdon, and an Ordinale at Tillingham. At Aldbury it is specially observed that the gradual is "non de Usu London Ecclesie," from which it may perhaps be inferred that in other cases this service book was of that use. A similar notice occurs at Navestock. At Kirkby is a Missal, an ancient book "nullius ordinis"; and at Pelham Furneaux, a Breviary "quod in parte non est notatum, nec London nec Sarum ordinem continet." At Chiswick was a "vetus liber leccionarius cum Missis intersertis per loca de usu monachali." It is clear that there was no rigid uniformity as to the office books in use even in churches all of which were under the same rule and patronage.

Panni Crismales.

At Tillingham is an interesting entry of "panni crismales lvj." The *Chrisom* was a cloth with which children were wrapped when they were brought to the font. "At the churching of the infant's mother the chrisom was presented to the priest to be used for making surplices, or coverings for the chalice, or for some similar purpose."[b]

A child dying within a month of his baptism was buried in his chrisom. A monumental brass of the sixteenth century at Chesham Bois Church, in Buckinghamshire, represents an infant enveloped in this robe. It is figured in Dr. Lee's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical and Liturgical Terms.* The inscription is:

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[a] See *Visitations in* 1297, *etc.*, pp. lv., lvi.

[b] Walcott, *Sacred Archaeology.*

OF ROG^{r} LEE GENTILMĀ HERE LYETH THE SON BENEDICT LEE
CRYSOM̄ WHO^{s} SOULE IHŪ PDŌ.

In the ancient *Ritus Baptizandi*,[a] printed in the *Monumenta Ritualia*, the rubric orders that after the actual Baptism:

"*Postea induatur infans veste chrismali, sacerdote interrogante nomen ejus, et dicente sic:*

"N. accipe vestem candidam, sanctam, et immaculatam, quam perferas ante tribunal Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam aeternam et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

"*Licitum est autem pannum chrismalem secundo linire chrismate, et super alium baptizatum immittere, tamen ad communes usus non debet pannus ille assumi: sed ad ecclesiam reportari et in usus ecclesiae reservari.*"

In the *Constitutions* of St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 1236, it is ordered in Section 13:[b]

"*Quod panni chrismales tantum cedant in usum ecclesiae.*

"Panni etiam chrismales non nisi in usus ornamentorum ecclesiae convertantur; similiter alia ornamenta ecclesiæ, quae pontificalem accipiunt benedictionem, nullo modo in usus profanos deputentur. Et Archidiaconus in suis visitationibus, an hoc observetur, diligenter inquirat."

The number of these chrisoms at Tillingham seems remarkably large, but the handwriting of the record is clear and the figures distinct. At Pelham Furneaux there were "ad sacrarium parva manutergia de crismalibus."

At Navestock, two old and useless chasubles "jussae sunt destrui et fieri frontalia."

Font.

At Chiswick, the Font is in a bad condition. At Twyford, occurs the curious entry, "plumbum est ibi rotundum pro baptistario;" as if a leaden bowl may have been used for that purpose. In the Visitation of 1297, the visitors report, "Baptisterium plumbeum sine serrura" at Twyford; and at Chiswick, "Baptisterium marmoreum intus plumbatum cum serrura." In the latter case, the Visitation had produced a good effect, and a marble font had replaced the "fons debilis et ruptus sine sera."[a]

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[a] Occasional offices selected from the Manual and Pontifical of the Church of Salisbury. *Monumenta Ritualia*, second edition, i. 25.

[b] Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 636.

Relics. Few relics are enumerated, but those which are found are of interest. At Tillingham is a small long comb which formerly belonged to St. Thomas of Canterbury: "ut dicitur," as the cautious scribe says. And at Walton is a cross, the gift of G., a former vicar, in which is preserved a piece of the True Cross.

Draco. At Heybridge are five banners "et unus draco," that is to say, the effigy of a dragon to be carried in procession: a symbol, Ducange says, either of the devil or of heresy, over which the Church triumphs.

Wimples. Only once in these Inventories, at Barling, are Wimples mentioned. Here there are eight: four of silk, three of linen, and one, also of linen, good and new.

Chalon. Nor does the word Chalun or Chalon occur in the later Inventories. It is found at Barling and at Walton: at the latter place with the explanatory words, "ad exequias mortuorum." It seems to be a funeral pall.

Heybridge. At Heybridge, the maintenance of the bridge from which the parish takes its name appears to have been a charge upon certain of the parishioners. "Isti tenent oves ad emendacionem pontis." Six names follow, and these persons have in all nine sheep available for this purpose. The Rota or Rowell light was maintained at Heybridge by the same kind of assessment.

Pax. At St. Pancras is a pax of somewhat unusual form and material: "parvus lapis marmoreus ornatus cupro ad pacem deferendum." It is more fully described in the Inventory of 1297 as "unum osculatorium ligneum cum laminibus cupreis cum lapide marmoris fixo in medio." The earlier entry might have been perplexing but for the later commentary.

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[a] *Visitations of* 1297 *and* 1458, pp. 57 and 63.

Vestments.

The vestments here enumerated have little to distinguish them from those more fully described in the later Inventories. Several, however, are said to be just good enough for funerals, or even as not sufficiently good for the exposure which a burial service in foul weather might entail. Thus, at Aldbury, there is a chasuble "vetus et rupta sed sepulture tantum apta"; at Pelham Furneaux, a "vestimentum vetus et insufficiens, aptum sepulture"; at Pelham Arsa, a chasuble of fustian "cum corporalibus, sepulture vix sufficiens"; whilst at Navestock, there are "due albe veteres sepulture defunctorum tantum sufficiens."

Field names.

Of field names only one appears, Yppele or Ippelega, at Willesdon; unless, indeed, Assartum at Navestock and Pastorel at Willesdon are to be included in this category; it is doubtful, however, whether any save the first should be considered as real field names.

Lights of the church.

The provision made for the lights of the churches is in some cases, especially at Thorp, Walton, and at Kirkby, set forth with great fulness. Each light in the last-named church seems to have had its special Custos or guardian; and here, the paschal candle, the light before the Altar of the Blessed Virgin, before the Cross, before St. Peter, before St. Michael, the two lights in the Chancel, and the Rowell light or Rotella, had each its several Custos and its body of parishioners bound to contribute to its support.

At Pelham Furneaux and at Pelham Arsa the provision for lights seems to have been left almost entirely to voluntary gifts, "totum votivum et nichil certum." But for the paschal taper there was a special collection, towards which tenants holding eighteen acres contributed one penny, and tenants holding half that quantity of land paid in proportion. There was no rowel light at the former parish, and the mention of the absence of the Rotella seems to indicate that it was found in almost every other place. At Pelham Arsa, indeed, a farthing was taken from every house by custom for the paschal light, and one Galfridus Sarvors gave two acres of land to supply two lights on the High Altar, but of late the land had been unproductive. It is added that "relictum luminare ecclesiae totum votivum est." In other parishes, the organisation for the supply of these lights was, as has been indicated, very complete.

Names of parishioners.

The names of the several parishioners are of some interest. A large number of them are designated from their place of abode, as:—

Gerardus de Venella,
Henricus de Ponte,
Clemens ad Moram,
Adam de Marisco,
Gervasius de Ecclesia,
Johannes ad Portam,
Elyas de Campo,
Petrus de Cruce.

Others from their trade, or profession, as:—

Willielmus Permentarius,
Radulphus Portarius,
Roger Pistor,
Eudo Mercator,
Elyas Molendinarius,
Richardus Carpentarius,
Willielmus de Bruere,
Jordanus Faber,
Wyot Sutor,
Randulphus Textor,
Alexander Clericus,
Ricardus Prepositus,
Willielmus Bercarius,
Johannes li Poter,
Hugo Carectarius.

Many from their father's Christian name, as:—

Gerardus et Stephanus filii Symonis,
Thomas filius Hugonis,
Eadwardus filius Davidis.

Some possibly from a personal peculiarity, as:—

Eadmundus le Brun,
Stephanus le Petit.

Whilst one has the somewhat unusual name of

Ricardus Diabolus.

It would have been easy to extend this fasciculus and the volume to which it is a companion to double or treble their present dimensions by introducing illustrative documents relating to the several parishes from the rich store of unpublished material existing in the Record Room at St. Paul's. The temptation to do so, no slight one, has been steadily resisted. But no rule is without its exception, and two important documents relating to Navestock selected from the great mass of deeds preserved in the Cathedral appear to be of sufficient interest to permit of a short notice in these pages.

Navestock.

The first is a Demise by the Dean and Chapter to Master Adam Murymouth, canon of the Cathedral, "on account of his residence, of the Manor of Navestock, with its tithes and all other appurtenances, to hold so long as he shall be a canon, and shall serve them well, and shall not be elected and confirmed as a bishop, rendering yearly three *firmæ*[a] to the bake-house, the brew-house, and the almonry of St. Paul's, and with each *firma* forty shillings, and for the tithes and revenue of the church of Navestock twenty marks a year to the Chamberlain."

The house is thus described in the Inventory:

"Recepit etiam sub uno tecto domum ad pistrinam et daieriam, unam coquinam cum furno et duobus plumbis, unum gallinar, et unam aulam cum buteleria et dispensa ad occidentem aule, et cameram ad orientem cum tresanciis, et unam cameram cum celario et solario tegulis coopertam, et ad ipsam cameram unam capellam de plastro de Parisis tendulis coopertam, et unum granarium vetus cum quatuor interfiniis et unam Thoralliam veterem, et unam parvulam domum ad vitulos extra portam, et unam fabricam, unam Bercariam extra portam, unum Molendinum ventriticum."

The list of utensils is as follows:

"Quatuor mensas, quatuor tripodes, unam securim, unum scaccarium, unum tabularium cum aleis, unum ciphum de mazero cum pede et circulo argenti precii octodecim denariorum, duas mappas de canabo, unum manutergium, sexaginta ciphos, centum squdellos, viginti duas platellas, decem salsaria, unum salsarium stagneum, duas ollas eneas, unam quinque galonum et aliam trium galonum, unam parvam ollam eneam dimidii galonis, unam craticlam, unum tripodem, unum grate, unum lavatorium, unam patellam, unam pelam, sex cuvas, tres tynas, quatuor dolia, unam scalam, unam mensuram quae continet unum quartum, aliam mensuram quinque busselles, tercium mensuram tres busselles, quartam mensuram duos busselles."[a]

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[a] Firma: food for a single week. Hale, *Domesday*, xlvi.

This document is dated Michaelmas, 1335. Canon Adam Murimuth, or Merimouth, or Meremouth, is the well-known author who "wrote the history of this country from 1302 to 1380."[b] and the Inventory of his goods possesses considerable interest. A short glossary of some of the more difficult words which occur in it will be found in the note at the foot of the page.[c] Without some such assistance the deed might be found rather perplexing to a student versed only in classical Latinity.

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[a] Mr. Maxwell Lyte's *Calendar*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report ix., 38a.

[b] Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, edition 1854, p. 388.

[c] Pistrina : a bakehouse.
Daieria : a dairy.
Coquina cum furno et duobus plumbis : a kitchen with an oven and two leaden vats.
Buteleria : a buttery.
Tresancia : "tresens, that is drawen over an estates chambre-ciel."— Palsgrave. "Ciel : the inner roof in a room of state."—Cotgrave. "A corridor."— Stratmann.
Celarium : a cellar.
Solarium : an upper chamber.
Tendulis or cendulis : shingles.
Granarium : a granary.
Thorallia : thorallum, or torallum, is a mound (perhaps, in this case, a heap of manure).
Bercaria : a sheepfold.
Molendinum ventriticum : a windmill.
Ciphus de mazero : a mazer bowl.
Squdelli : probably baskets.
Platellæ : probably plates.
Salsaria : salt-cellars.
Craticla : a gridiron.
Patella : a pan.
Pela : a baker's peel.
Cuvæ : vats.
Tynæ : tubs.

It [illegible] volume
to w[illegible] dimen-
sions [illegible] several
paris[illegible] the
Rec[illegible],
has [illegible]
and [illegible]
the [illegible]
suffi[illegible]

Navestock.

T[illegible]
Mur[illegible]
of t[illegible]
tena[illegible]
well [illegible]
year[illegible]
almo[illegible]
the [illegible]
year[illegible]

T[illegible]

"[illegible]
una[illegible]
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cam[illegible]
et s[illegible]
de p[illegible]
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par[illegible]
Ber[illegible]

The [illegible]

"Q[illegible]
rium, [illegible]
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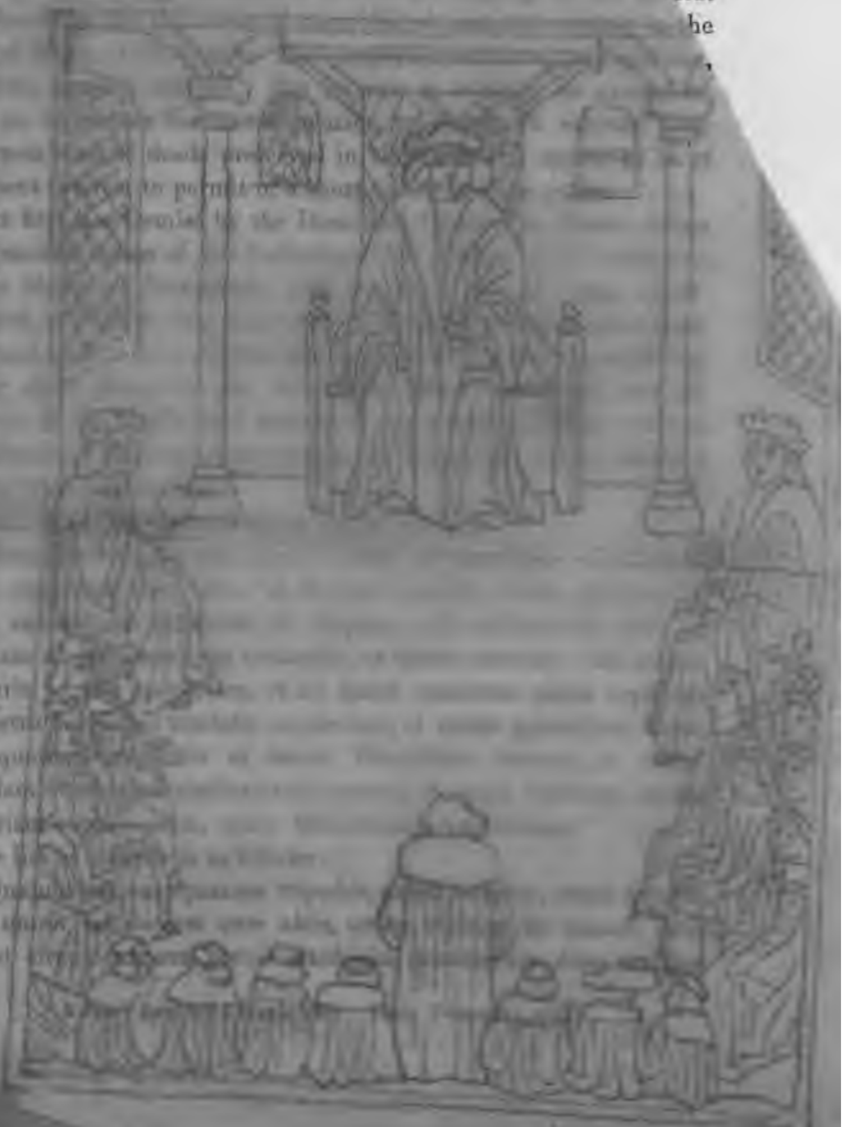

de canabo, unum manutergium, sexaginta ciphos, centum squdellos, viginti duas platellas, decem salsaria, unum salsarium stagneum, duas ollas eneas. unam quinque galonum et aliam trium galonum, unam parvam ollam eneam dimidii galonis, unam craticlam, unum tripodem, unum grate, unum lavatorium, unam patellam, unam pelam, sex cuvas, tres tynas, quatuor dolia, unam scalam, unam mensuram quae continet unum quartum, aliam mensuram quinque busselles, tercium mensuram tres busselles, quartam mensuram duos busselles."[a]

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Cuvæ : vats.
Tynæ : tubs.

The second document relating to Navestock is a Demise by the Dean and Chapter, between 1422 and 1441, to Reginald Malyns, Esq., of the Manor of Navestock, reserving to themselves certain feudal rights.[a] Among the utensils specified in the Inventory these are the most interesting:

"Unum tabularium cum aleis, decem salsaria de ligno, unum mortar, unum tripidem, unam molam manualem, unum plumbum in deiria, unum meschfatte, unum yilyngfatte, unum cowyll, unum sigillum ad sigillandum mensuras, unum bikorn, unum scythe, unum mallium magnum pro officio fabri, unam scalam, unum pelvem cum lavacro de latone, unum par de stokkes, duo plumbea in pandoxatria, unum markyng yren pro ovibus, unum cornu ceratum ad suflandum in autompnum."[b]

It is curious to observe how the scribe is compelled to fall back upon the vulgar tongue, when he has to set down such very English objects as a par de stokkes, a mortar, a scythe, or a markyng yren for sheep.

Willesdon. A very late Inventory, of about 1547, says Lysons in his *Environs of London*,[c] notes that there were then at Willesdon, "Two masers that were appointed to remayne in the church for to drynk yn at bride-ales."

The text has been scrupulously followed as regards the spelling of the words, with two exceptions. The scribe has written indifferently *vas* or *uas*, *vestimentum* or *uestimentum*: in this transcript the uniform reading of *vas*, *vestimentum*, etc., has been adopted. In like manner it has been thought better to print j instead of i, in such words as maior, maius, iniunctum, and the like. The names of the several parishes here inserted in capital letters in the text for convenience of reference do not occur in the original manuscript.

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[a] Mr. Maxwell Lyte, *Calendar*, 38,a.

[b] Here also a short glossary may be useful:—
Molam manualem : a hand-mill.
Meschfatte : Mashfat, the vat which contained the malt in brewing.
Yilyngfatte : Gylefatte, the vat in which ale is worked. Gyle, wort.
Bikorn : probably the same as bica, a beehive.
Pandoxatria : a brew-house.

[c] Second Edition, vol. ii., part 2, p. 818.

VISITATION OF CERTAIN CHURCHES

BELONGING TO THE

DEAN AND CHAPTER OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

IN THE YEARS 1249-1252.

WILLESDON.[a]

p. 136b.

Status ecclesiarum que pertinent ad capitulum tempore H. decani.[b]

Hic nota. ☞

Omnes decime garbarum de tota parochia de Willesdon cedunt in usus Canonicorum. Totum altaragium habet Vicarius et domum quamdam prope ecclesiam cum ortho [c] et terram ad eandem ecclesiam pertinentem, et portat honera [d] ecclesie debita et consueta.

Ornamenta illius ecclesie que reliquid [e] J. Vicarius.

Parvum missale bonum plenum sine nota cum kallendario. Item aliud missale majus et vetus habens canonem misse in principio sine nota et grossioris litere satis sufficiens. Antiphonarium cum kalendario continens legenda de bona litera et bene notata, habens literam auream in principio libri, et p^{o}. c^{9}.[a] secundum ordinem ecclesie London. Item antiphonarium notatum de debili percameno[b] plenarium et competens. Duo gradalia bona et bene notata, et iij[c] vetus et notatum cum parvo tropario in fine. Item ij troparia bona et bene notata, et iij[c] troparium parvum notatum et competens. Item liber manualis cum exorcismis plenariis. Item unum psalterium vetus et competens. Item calix argenteus interius deauratus habens pomellum deauratum, et in patena manum deauratam benedicentem,[d] ponderis circiter xx s. Item unum vestimentum plenarium cum paraturis et casula de serico veteri integro. Item aliud vestimentum cum paraturis et cum veteri casula de serico competenti sed minus bono. Item iij[c] vestimentum sollempne cum paraturis et casula de viridi sendato cum panno croceo interius. Item quartum vestimentum bonum et novum et plenarium cum casula de arista et paraturis de eodem cum superpellicio bono et novo et rochetto de dono quondam J. vicarij. Item iiij^{or} rocheti et iij superpellicia majus trita. Item vj palle altaris benedicta[e] et j pannus de Mediolano[f] vetus ante altare. Item cum quolibet vestimento corporalia. Item vexillum rubeum cum yconia beate Virginis de auripelle[g] de dono J. vicarii et duo alia vexilla antiqua et tria.[h] Item velum quadragesimale vetus et tritum, et velum ad cooperiendam crucem in ecclesia de canopo. Item vas aquarium stagneum et sufficiens, due cruces in altari portatiles de esmallo.[a] Item vas de coreo ad reponenda corporalia. Item pixis eburnea ad Corpus Domini reponendum super altare in pixide de coreo cum bonis seris. Item duo vasa crismatoria stagnea et aliud vas stagneum honestum ad circumferendum Corpus Domini ad egrotos. Item offertorium de panno rubeo subtili. Item due magne iconee et sculpte de beata Virgine.

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[a] At the top of the first page are the words "Visitante Anno Domini M° CC° xlix° et l^{mo} ut patet primo."

[b] Henry de Cornhill, Dean of St. Paul's from 15 August, 1243, till his death on 9 April, 1254.

[c] Cum ortho, that is, cum horto: with a garden.

[d] What these *onera* were in Newcourt's time will be seen in his *Repertorium*, i., 760.

[e] Reliquid: so in MS. for reliquit.

---

[a] So in the MS.: perhaps, principio cujus.

[b] Percameno, that is, Pergameno: parchment, so called because it is said to have been invented by Eumenes, King of Pergamum.

[c] Et iij, that is, *tertium*.

[d] *Manum*: the hand of the Deity in benediction.

[e] Benedicta: so in MS.

[f] De Mediolano: Dr. Rock observes that Lombardy (and especially its capital, Milan) was famous for its fine silk-weaving. There is a good specimen of this cobweb weaving, *opus araneum*, in the South Kensington Museum. No. 8254. *Textile Fabrics*, p. 162.

[g] Auripellum, says Ducange, a Gall. *auripeau*, aurichalcum, lamina auricalcea. He also refers to auriculatum, métal semblant à archal.

[h] Tria: probably for trita.

Sunt in dominico ecclesie de Willesdon per particulas.

Due acre in campo que dicitur yppele[b] et j acra in campo quondam pastorel prope yppele. De terra Ealwini de Tuiferd j acra. De terra Radulphi filii Richardi dimidia acra. De terra Walteri Pugnaꝰ dimidia acra. De terra Richardi Bestien dimidia acra. De terra Willielmi del Hek j virgata. De terra Richardi Carpentarii j acra. De terra Radulphi Blik[c] j acra. De terra Willielmi de la Slade dimidia acra. De terra Hugonis Achere dimidia acra. De terra W. Blundi dimidia acra. De terra Eadwardi Blauet dimidia acra. De terra Eylwyni de Wdeton j acra. De terra Gilberti de Wdeton j acra et dimidium. De terra Leuine j mesuagium ad portam cimiterij cum domo super prebendam Magistri R. de Barthona[d] quam I. Virdeman defendit versus dominum.

Quarum Summa j virgata xij acre et
j messuagium ad portam cimiterij }

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[a] Esmallo : enamel.

[b] Yppele, or Ippelega, as it is called in two deeds preserved at St. Paul's. See Mr. Maxwell Lyte's *Calendar*, 33b.

[c] One " Tho. le Blic, son of Ralph de Blic, by his deed (but without date) granted to the Church of the Blessed Mary of Willesdon half an acre of land, which lieth in Hurland near Kalewestricke, in pure and perpetual alms."—NEWCOURT, *Repertorium*, i., 760.

[d] Robert de Barthona, or de Barton, was prebendary of Willesdon ; he became Precentor of St. Paul's in 1246, and Dean in 1259.

TUIFERD.

Status Capelle de Tuiferd.

c nota. ☞

Ecclesia Sancti Pauli recipit a Capella de Tuiferd xijđ pro decimis annone, pro decimis ovium et caprarum, que quidem capella non est aliter vicinarum ecclesiarum appendula sed permissu capituli Sancti Pauli baptizat infantes, sepelit mortuos quomodo voluerit, dum modo non ad aliquam ecclesiarum Episcopi, et in spiritualibus respondet Decano et Capitulo.

In Capella de Twiferd in crastino Conversionis Sancti Pauli inventa sunt ornamenta subscripta, Anno Domini M^{o}CC^{o}l^{o}j^{o}.

Calix argenteus in limbo pedis deauratus cum patena alba et manu benedicta deaurata; calix aliquantulum ruptus in pede. Altare lapideum non dedicatum, et superaltare benedictum et sufficiens, et j palla altaris vetus et rupta, et frontale lineum et incisum. Item aliud frontale sericum rubeum honestum et sufficiens. Item due palle altaris benedicte et integre et sufficientes, quarum una habet paraturam strictam de serico operatam acu cum fimbriis sericis. Item vestimentum pulcrum cum apparatu serico et casula de serico sufficiens, post tergum aurifrigio largo, et corporalia ad illud vestimentum integra et sufficiencia; et illud vestimentum habet aliud amictum integrum et ornatum serico. Item fuit ibi aliud vestimentum magis tritum et ornatum serico et corporalibus integris sed infusis, cum casula alba de fustamine[a] non ornata, et aliud frontale sericum honestum cum furura[b] linea. Item sunt ibi duo altaria extra chorum cum tabulis ligneis et veteribus frontellis parvis, et duabus pallis veteribus ut videtur non benedictis. Item inventa sunt ibi superpellicia duo, majus quod est ruptum et parvum quod est integrum; et duo rochetti, minor qui est integrum et major qui est defrustis.[a] Item fuit ibi parvum missale et insufficiens sine nota, et destructe rubrice in canone misse et alibi in locis pluribus, sine kalendario, plures habens defectus. Item fuit ibidem gradale et troparium in uno volumine et aliquantulum sufficiens notatum. Item inventum est ibi antiphonarium cum ympnario capitulario et collectario de ordine Sarum, habens kallendarium in capite notatum et aliquantulum sufficiens. Item legenda vetus et rupta, multos habens defectus in principio et in fine. Item est ibi psalterium cissum et male paratum: si esset ligatum sufficeret. Item liber manuale plures habens missas et officium diversum pro vivis baptizandis, ungendis, et pro defunctis sepeliendis, habens in fine Commune Sanctorum de antiphonario non notatum et aliquantum sufficiens si esset ligatum. Item est ibi pixis vetus ad reponendum Corpus Domini sine sera, et vas crismatorium ligneum sine sera et insufficiens. Item due phiale stagnee integre. Item est ibi crux una super altare lignea depicta. Item v^{que} candelabra stagnea integra. Nullus redditus est ibi ad luminare nisi de gracia domini ville. Item plumbum est ibi rotundum pro baptistario. Item vas aquarium stagneum. Item x aree habitate sunt in parochia sine curia. Item Capellanus habet x acras terre arabilis et unum mansum cum tribus domunculis, et est capella de patronatu Bartholomei de Capella qui presentat Decano et Capitulo ut ordinario rectorem perpetuum ad capellam, sed non sufficit ei ad sustentacionem. Item sunt ibi due campane. Item unum turribulum vetus.

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[a] Fustamen : fustian.

[b] Furura : the only meaning given by Ducange is Pellitium, Gall. *Fourrure*. The text, however, seems to require the sense of a border or fringe.

S. PANCRACIUS. p. 137b.

Status ecclesie de Sancto Pancracio.

Est ibi missale vetus sed sufficiens et notatum et plenarium habens kalendarium in capite. Item gradale bonum plenarium et notatum et sufficiens. Item liber antiphonarius bonus et notatus et sufficiens cum ordinali intersertum. Item legenda bona et sufficiens in uno volumine, Temporale scilicet et Sanctorum. Item duo psalteria satis sufficientia. Item duo libri manuales satis sufficientes. Item liber troparius notatus et convenienter sufficiens. Item collectarium et capitularium. Item calix argenteus albus de plano opere pondens xxs., cum patena satis sufficiens. Item iiij^or^ pallee altaris benedicte bene sufficientes. Item tria paria vestimentorum, quorum duo sunt cotidiana integra et convenienter sufficiencia, cum una casula alba veteri et debili, et tercium magis sufficiens cum una casula de serico. Item sunt ibi tria superpellicia sufficiencia et unus rochetus vetus. Item superaltare benedictum integrum et sufficiens. Item unum frontale sericum bonum et integrum. Item j vetus et parvi precij. Item vas aquarium stagneum et sufficiens. Item due phiale stagnee et trite. Item unum turribulum parvum. Item vas crismatorium sine sera. Item vas stagneum ad reponendum Corpus Dominicum sine sera. Item fons lapideus sufficiens. Item duo candelabra stagnea vetera. Item parvus lapis marmoreus ornatus cupro ad pacem deferendum. Item ad luminare ecclesie nisi iiij^{or} denarij, quos dedit quondam Johannes Pigun per manus heredis sui perpetuo. Ada de Basinḡ habet tenementum et forciavit[a] per viij annos. Item j denarius quem assignavit Henricus de la Hulle per manum heredis sui perpetuo quem reddit. Item sunt in parochia xxxvj mesuagia, exceptis mesuagiis de Tothale, Ruggemere, et Northb[ur]i, et Alkichesbri. De aliis mesuagiis redditur obolus ad rotellam, et j quadrans ad cereum paschalem.

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[a] Defrustis: torn.

☞ Item Vicarius perpetuus habet edificia prope ecclesiam que Vicarius R. bene clausit et edificavit. Item habet iiij^{or} acras terre arabiles et omnes minutas decimas parochiales et preterea de majoribus decimis recipit c. s. ex assignacione Capituli. Item est ibi ad aquilonem ecclesie alia area ubi colliguntur decime majores, et introitus ad illam aream obstrictus est per Magistrum W. de Lichf[a] et facit ibi viam per majus altara.[b] Item est ibi defectus fenestrarum et muris cancelli extrinsecus.

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[a] Forciavit: has held forcible, or wrongful possession.

CHESEWITH.

Ornamenta inventa apud Chesewith die Sanctorum Johannis et Pauli[c] Anno Domini M^{o}CC^{o}L^{o} secundo.

Missale bonum et sufficiens missum ibidem de Thesaurario Sancti Pauli. Item duo gradalia sufficiencia. Unum troparium sufficiens sed male ligatum. Item vetus liber leccionarius cum missis intersertis per loca de usu monachali. Item antiphonarium bonum et sufficiens bene notatum. Item psalterium bonum et sufficiens. Desit manuale.

Item calix argenteus parvus et parvi precij titubans.[d] Item una casula de sameto rubeo bene ornata aurifrigio. Item vestimentum integrum instratum paraturis bonis. Item aliud vestimentum cum alba casula debili et rupta interius, cum dupplicibus manipulis et stolis. Item tria corporalia benedicta. Item v^{que} palle altaris benedicte et integre, quarum una habet paruram de serico. Item p. 137. pannus sericus de aresta, quam quidem parochianus dedit ecclesie integre. Item crismatorium vetus. Item unum vexillum bonum et sufficiens. Item nulla pixis ad reponendum Corpus Domini. Item duo candelabra enea et duo candelabra stagnea. Item iij^{or} phiale stagnee. Item fons debilis et ruptus sine sera.

Item cancellum debile et coopertum male. Item ad luminare nichil certum, nisi collecta ad cereum paschalem, scilicet de qualibet domo obolus. Item injunctum est parochianis similem collectam ad rotellam. Item Johannes Belemenis[a] habet dimidiam marcam ad cancellum emendum de testamento quondam A. ☞ Thesaurarij.[b] Item ecclesia non est dedicata. Item Vicarius habet totum altaragium cum xij acris terre arabilis, et unam acram prati, et unam marcam argenti per manum Camerarij.[c]

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[a] William de Lich. or de Lichefeld was canon and prebendary of St. Pancras in 1250 and 1258.

[b] Altara: so in MS. for altare.

[c] Die sanctorum Johannis et Pauli, martyrum, that is, June 26. See the *Calendar of the Sarum Breviary.*

[d] Titubans: probably, leaning on one side.

ECCLESIE DE LA LEE.

Status ecclesie de la lee.[d]

☞ Descriptus anno eodem in crastino Processi[e] et Martyris Ecclesia ista in medietate subjecta est Decano et Capitulo, sed tamen nichil recipient de pensione annua propter ejus paupertatem.

Ornamenta ejusdem ecclesie.

Calix argenteus parvus intus deauratus ponderis, ut creditur, dimidie marce. Unum par vestimentorum integrum et sufficiens, et una alba preter illud par. Due palle benedicte et una non benedicta. Tria paria corporalium. Pannus depictus ante majus altare. Unum superpellicium. Unus Rochetus debilis. Nullum missale integrum; Unum tamen vetus ab adventu usque ad Pascha et a Pascha usque ad adventum, in quodam libro, non ligato, continente psalterium, ympnarium, pars temporalis. Duo manualia bona. Temporale integrum non ligatum. Antiphonarius debilis. Gradale debile cum tropario. Gradale novum et bonum. Quidam liber non ligatus continens partem Missalis sanctorum temporalis et psalterij. Turribulum sufficiens. Pixis stagnea sine sera in qua deponitur Eukaristia. Crismatorium ligneum sine serura. Sacrarium contritum et dampnatum. Baptisterium plumbeum sufficiens. Non est ibi redditus assisus ad luminare, nisi tantummodo de collecta inter parochianos.

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[a] John Belemeus, or Belemeyus, was prebendary of Chiswick in 1225 and in 1252.

[b] That is, probably, Alexander Swerford, Treasurer of St. Paul's from January, 1231-32. He died in 1246, and was buried in the Cathedral. He appears to have resigned his office some few years before his death.

[c] Camerarius: the Chamberlain of St. Paul's.

[d] Ecclesia de la Lee: called in the later Inventories Westlee. The parish at this early date appears to have been very poor. Later on the church fell into ruins.

[e] St. Processus, July 2 or July 9. His name occurs in a Litany in the *Sarum Breviary, Fasciculus* ii., p. 259 of the reprint.

BERLING.

Inventarium apud Berlinḡ post mortem Walteri vicarij et traditum Petro vicario tempore H. Decani.[a]

Frontale sericum. Tres palle altaris benedicte. Duo manutergia nova. Tria manutergia vetera. Pannus lineus ad lectrinum. Tabula nova depicta ante magnum altare. Trabs nova depicta super antiquam tabulam ante altare. Item vij Wimple[b] quarum iiij^{or} de serico et tres linee. Item una bona nova et linea. Item unum superpellicium cum uno rocheto. Item unum lintheamen et unum chalun.[c] Item una archa ad vestimenta de abiete[d] cum sero ferro ligata. Item una crux de admallo et alia lignea depicta. Item tria lectrina ad libros. Item fons novus et bene paratus. Item lintheamen retro crucem. Item ymago sancti Egydij. Item psalterium bonus. Item dimidia Marca ad calicem, de legato p 137b. Walteri. Item alba nova cum parura et amita cum parura. Item v^{que} candelabra stagnea ad cereos. Item iiij^{or} ampulle ad vinum et aquam. Item crismatorium cum sera. Item baculus depictus ad crucem portandam. Item feretrum ad mortuos, et iij sconse ad candelas. Item vas stagneum ad aquam benedictam cum aspersorio. Item pelvis stagnea ad sacrarium et due campane.

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[a] That is, between 1243 and 1254.

[b] Wimple: Halliwell says, a kind of cape or tippet covering the neck and shoulders. Ducange gives Wimpla, Peplum. *Vide* Guimpa, under which word he says, "Peplum, velum muliebre, quo etiamnum utuntur monachæ."

[c] Chalun: probably a funeral pall. *See infra*, p. 27.

[d] Archa de abiete: a chest of fir wood.

Status ecclesie de Barling̃.

☞ Capitulum sancti Pauli habet omnes majores decimas de dominica et parochia ad luminare ecclesie beati Pauli. Vicarius autem habet unam virgatam terre in dominico cum manso honesto et domibus bene edificatis. Item etiam omnes minores decimas tocius villate, et decimas minutas de toto villenagio et aliis terris antiquis que tracte sunt ad dominicum. Habet etiam tricesimam partem minutarum decimarum de toto veteri dominico, et portat onera ecclesie debita et consueta. De spiritualibus respondet Decano et Capitulo.

Item Reginaldus Wile habet xij matrices oves de testamento Walteri Pavery ad inveniendum cereum ante altare sancti Egidij. Item habet unam ovem de Waltero Upeton' ad cereum ante crucem. Item habet unam ovem de testamento Agnetis de la Weylete ad cereum ante ymaginem sancti Nicholai. De qualibet ove annuatim ij denarij. Item Petrus Faber habet v oves ad cereum ante crucem. Item Absalon habet xvj oves, de quibus iiij^or^ oves sunt ad lampades et alie ad cereum ante crucem et ante ymaginem sancti Nicholai. Item Willielmus filius Baudewini habet x oves ad cereum ante ymaginem beate Virginis. Item Bricius tenetur invenire cereum ante altare sancti Egidij, dicit quod de quadam terra quam dedit ei pater suus. Item Johannes Crabbe habet vj oves ad cereum beate Virginis et sancti Nicholai. Item Serewind habet unam ovem ad cereum beate Virginis. Item relicta Cestre habet iij oves ad ruele[a] et cereum. Item Willielmus Permentarius[b] habet ij oves ad cereum ante crucem. Item Ricardus capellanus habet iiij^or^ oves ad cereum ante crucem.

Summa ovium ad luminare
ecclesie tempore hujus descripcionis } lxj.

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[a] Ruele : the Rotundale, or Rowel light.

[b] Permentarius, seu parmentarius, ex *paramentarius*, qui vestes parat, id est, ornat : nostris olim *Parmentier*, qui hodie *tailleur d'habits*.—Ducange.

HEYBREG.

Hec sunt ornamenta ecclesie de Heybreg̃.

Duo Gradalia scilicet unum bonum et aliud vetus et tercium fere nullius precij. Unum temporale cum ympnario Sanctorum per se, consuetudinarius quia nullus. Duo antiphonarij, unus novus et bonus, et alius tritus et inveteratus. Unus portehors.[a] Unum processionale. Unum bonum missale. Duo psalteria, unum vetus et unum bonum novum ex dono domini Gosselini in presencia domini Decani. Unus calix argenteus bene deauratus intus et exterius. Tria paria vestimentorum dobilium cum ornamentis suis, et post aliud bonum cum bona casula de serico. Quatuor pallee altaris benedicte et quinta non benedicta. Unum velum quadragesimale. Unum lintheamen ante crucem. Tria paria corporalium. Una pixis stagnea ad deponendum Corpus Domini. Unum crismatorium competens cum sera. v^{que} vexilla et unus draco.[b] p. 138.
Una crux cuprea, et alie tres depicte lignee. Tres tabule ad magnum altare posite gradatim in assensu,[c] et una tabula coram altari beate Marie, et alia tabula coram altari beati Jacobi. Duo superpellicia et ij rocheta. Ecclesia dedicata est in honore sancti Andree die translacionis sancti Benedicti.[d] Eodem die xxx dies veniales.[e] Item fons baptismalis bonus et novus.

Ex legato Radulphi sacerdotis ad lampadem in cancello ante altare beati Andree j ovem. Bartholomeus Faber j ovem. Egidia vidua j ovem. Willielmus de Crabeham j ovem. Bartholomeus Faber respondet et lampadam sustinet modo Gunilda uxor ejus. Item ad cereum faciendum in vigilia beate Marie. Egilia de la Hale dedit j ruscam [a] et j vaccam, de quarum exitu Roger le Hert modo respondet ad sustentacionem unius lampadis imperpetuum ante altare beate Marie. Idem Roger j angnum [b] de legato habet, modo est ovis. Johannes filius Galfridi Meifey habet j ovem. Willielmus testor j ovem. Gilbertus prepositus j ovem. Juliana filia Willielmi Gobbe j ovem. Johannes de Fonte j ovem de testamento Johannis filij Willielmi Standhard pro qualibet dabitur ijđ. In vigilia sancte Trinitatis Alexander de Bosco recipet iiij^{or} matrices oves ex testamento Cristine filie Sirich But, pro quibus dabit viijđ annuatim ad luminare trium altarium et ante crucem. Memorandum quod Paganus de Boscho recepit j vaccam precii iiij s̄. et iij oves precij iij s̄. de testamento Johannis de Araz, ad sustentacionem unius lampadis ante crucem imperpetuum, et ardebit singulis annis per iiij^{or} noctes festivales.

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[a] Portehors: a breviary.

[b] Draco: Effigies draconis, quæ cum vexillis, in ecclesiasticis processionibus deferri solet, qua vel Diabolus ipse, vel hæresis designantur, de quibus triumphat Ecclesia.—Ducange. Diabolus enim, ut ait S. Augustinus (Hom. 36 in Scripturis Sanctis), *Leo et Draco est: Leo propter impetum, Draco propter insidias.*

[c] Gradatim in ascensu: this arrangement does not recur in these Inventories.

[d] Translatio S. Benedicti: July 11. Here, as in many other instances, the day of the patron saint is not the day of the Dedication of the Church.

[e] Triginta dies Veniales: an indulgence of thirty days of pardon to those who heard Mass on this day.

De ponte de Hegbreḡ.

☞ Isti tenent oves ad emendacionem pontis.[c] Roger pistor [d] j ovem. Bricius pistor iij oves. Jordanus de Bosco ij oves. Alexander Sprot j ovem. Ricardus Buell j ovem. Petrus de cruce j ovem.

Isti sunt tenentes oves ad rotam. Eadmundus de Marisco ij oves, Ricardus Sauegel j ovem, Eadwardus pistor iiij oves, Roger Sprot j ovem, Eadwardus Seldarke j ovem, Villefredus Heselet ij oves, Matilda de Mora j ovem, Matillda buelŧ j ovem.

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[a] Rusca : Apium cubile voce *Rusca* revera intelligendum esse confirmant charta annum circiter 1080, e tabulario S. Albini Andegavensis. Vide Thomam Blount in Nomolexico Anglicano, et supra vocem *Hestha*, ubi *Busca butyri* memoratur pro certa butyri quantitate seu massa *ruscam* apium fortean referente.—Ducange.

[b] Angnum : that is, agnum.

[c] Pons : the bridge from which Heybridge is so called.

[d] Pistor : the miller.

Status ecclesie de Hegbreg.

☞ David vicarius perpetuus habet domos bonas et aream prope ecclesiam. Infra vicaria habet altaragium cum terris pertinentibus ad vicariam de curia et de tota villata, sed inter festum ad vincula[a] non reditur decima de caseo vel lacte curie, nec de Molendino quia est in dominico. Decima dominij et parochie datur integraliter de garbis ad luminare beati Pauli.[b] Reddit ecclesia synodales et denarios ut in prima inquisicione Willielmi[c] Decani Radulphi.[d]

Tenentes de ecclesia de Heubreg̃.

Clemens ad Moram v acris in duabus croftis et reddit xx đ. Johannes Gobbe j acra et reddit vj đ. Walter Seler v acris et reddit xij đ. Johannes ad portam j parvam grovam et reddit iiij đ sed grava destructa est. Johannes Herde iij acras et reddit xij đ per Magistrum W. de Purle. Walter Trip j curtilagium et reddit vj đ per Magistrum W. de Purle.

TILLINGHAM.

p 138b.

Ornamenta ecclesie de Tillingham in die Translacionis beati Wlstani Wygorniensis Episcopi,[e] Anno gracie M° CC° xl° nono. Visitante Henrico Decano.

Missale satis bonum et novum notatum cum littera aurea in principio. Item missale vetus sine nota. Item ordinale de usu sancti Pauli. Item gradale cum suo tropario notato. Item gradale sine tropario bonum et novum. Item antiphonarium cum collectario, capitulario, ympnario, in magno volumine. Item legenda bona cum psalterio in principio. Item ij psalteria vetera. Item processionale bonum. Item troparium in uno volumine per se bonum et bene notatum. Item manuale. Item martylogium satis bonum et novum. Item antiphonarium sine collectario capell'[a] ympnario.

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[a] Ad vincula : that is, S. Peter ad vincula, August 1.

[b] Beati Pauli : St. Paul's Cathedral.

[c] Willielmi Decani : Up to this period three deans of St. Paul's had borne the name of William. The first, William, 1111-1138 ; the second, William de Basinges, about 1212 ; the third, William de Sancta Maria, 1241-1243.

[d] Radulphus : There is no Ralph amongst the list of deans until the well-known Ralph de Baldock, 1294-1306. The name Willielmi is marked with dots below it, as for erasure, and the name Radulphi is inserted by a somewhat later hand ; but probably the original reading is correct.

[e] Translatio beati Wlstani : that is, June 7.

Item ij paria vestimentorum festivalium parata serico, quorum unum habet casulam de serico cum lacis aurifrigiis. Item vestimentum pertinens ad altare sancte Marie cum casula de veteri serico. Item ij paria vestimentorum ferialium trita cum casula de fustamine. Item iiij^{or} paria corporalium. Item ij albe cum una amicta de aurifrigio in tribus frustis, quarum una bene parata serico, et alia sine paratura. Item casula vetus non magni precij. Item x palle benedicte quarum due parate una serico et altera aurifrigio. Item capa chori crocea cum duobus tassellis[b] brusdatis Majestate[c] et Maria. Item ij superpellicia et nullum rochetum. Item velum bonum et novum de pannis tinctis incisis. Item ij^{o} manutergia. Item iiij^{or} lintheaminia ad altare. Item tres panni veteres ad cooperiendum altare. Item tria tapeta vetera. Item panni crismales, lvj.[d] Item calix argenteus intus et deforis deauratus. Item alius calix tantummodo deauratus cum pomello deaurato. Item crux cooperta argento. Item due pelves de asmallo. Item duo urcei[a] de stagno. Item duo urcei de asmallo. Item turribulum vetus. Item navicula ad imponendum incensum. Item unum lavatorium ereum. Item iiij^{or} arche ad imponenda vestimenta et alia ornamenta ecclesie. Item pixis argentea ad Corpus Domini. Item teca yburnea. Item tria vexilla nova parata aureis pellis de armis Regiis.[b] Item iiij^{or} vexilla non nova. Item reliquiare in feretro ligneo deaurato. Parvus pecten longum quondam beati Thome,[c] ut dicitur. Item parvum feretrum de ossibus, cum parvis reliquiis.

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[a] Capell': probably for capitulario.

[b] Tassellus: pro humerali pluvialis seu aureo argenteove aut serico textili, quo trabeæ sacræ postica pars adornatur.—Ducange.

[c] Majestas: figura Patris æterni in throno sedentis, aut Crucifixi imago, quæ in antiquis missalibus picta est ante canonem . . . . unde in quibusdam legitur hæc rubrica, *Osculetur Majestas*, aut *Osculetur Majestatem*.—Ducange.

[d] lvj: so in MS. "It would seem that these chrysoms formed a part of the small revenues of a parish church, being kept and lent on occasions to people too poor to provide decent ones for themselves. In the odd collection of miscellaneous matter called *Arnold's Chronicle*, we find an entry in 'the valew and stynt of the benefyce of Saint Magnus at London brydge ȝerly to the person,' as follows:

'¶ Cresoms and preuy tythes.'"

This is in 1494. *Monumenta Ritualia*, second edition, i., 27.

Item ad luminare ejusdem ecclesie eodem tempore Radulphus de Hore tenet j ovem pro ij đ per annum, Radulphus Crux iij oves pro vj đ, Godefridus Grom j ovem pro ij đ, Robertus filius Hugelot j ovem pro ij đ, Roger del Perer iij oves pro vj đ. Eudo mercator iiij oves pro viij denariis et obolo et manet extra parochiam, Johannes Snot ij oves pro viij đ et manet extra parochiam, Adam de Gaisle j ovem pro ij đ, Petrus de Gaysle j ovem pro ij đ, Ricardus Manctildus ij oves pro iiij đ, Ricardus Passeauaunt j ovem pro ij đ, Henricus Oches ij oves pro iiij đ, Eadwardus Brid j ovem pro ij đ, Walterus King ij oves pro iiij denariis, Radulphus de Campo j ovem pro ij đ, Adam Tik ij oves pro iiij đ, Williemus Passeauant ij oves pro vj đ, Johannes de Estware j ovem pro ij đ et manet extra parochiam, Walterus Passeauant ij oves pro iiij đ, Walterus Permentarius j ovem pro ij đ, Nicholaus Bercher j ovem p. 139. pro ij đ, Reginaldus Brun j ovem pro ij đ, Johannnes filius Aylwini ij oves pro iiij đ, Johannes Cok j ovem pro ij đ. Radulphus Hore tenet j vaccam ad lumen Sancte Marie. Leticia uxor Gilberti j vaccam et j ovem ad cereum Sancte Marie. Henricus Persona j vaccam ad lumen Sancte Marie et j ovem ad lumen Sancti Michaelis. Walterus Clericus tenet j equum et j ovem et j agnum precij viij s̄ ad inveniendum cereum ante crucem. Hugo Koc v oves pro x đ. Godefridus filius Payn viij oves pro xvj đ per annum, et sunt in arreragio xvj s̃ de xvj annis, de quibus Saerus Vicarius fuit executor. Gunnor uxor Symonis iij oves pro vj đ, et detinet ij oves. Rogerus Godsaule j ovem pro ij đ. Johannes Bercher j ovem pro ij đ. Johannes filius Philippi ij oves pro iiij đ. Odo Carpentarius j ovem pro iij đ oƀ. Walterus filius Reyneri iiij oves pro viij đ. Godefridus Comes iij oves pro vj đ. Thomas filius Baldewini ij oves pro iiij đ. Eustachius iiij oves pro viij đ. Symon de Slo v oves pro x đ, et detinet omnes. Radulphus Pach j ovem pro ij đ. Odo le Poter v oves pro xx đ. Odo de Gardino j ovem pro ij đ. Elyas Molendinarius j ovem pro ij đ. Gervasius ij oves pro iiij đ. Matilda Bosse j ovem pro ij đ. Ipolitus ij oves pro iiij đ, extra parochiam. Johannes Bosse ij oves pro iiij đ. Willielmus de Hida ij oves pro iiij đ. Rogerus Grom j ovem pro ij đ. Sawale Dote j ovem pro iij oƀ. Gumfridus Hacun ij oves pro iiij đ, extra parochiam. Robertus Otewy j ovem j đ, extra parochiam.

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[a] Urcens : a pitcher.

[b] Vexilla : banners with the Royal Arms.

[c] The comb of St. Thomas à Becket.

Status ecclesie de Tyllingham deficit hic quoad vicariam.

ALDEBIRI.

Status ecclesie de Aldebiri inventus est in festo Sancti Marci Anno gracie M° CC° lij.

Missale vetus cum gradali bene notato et de bona littera in debili percameno et male ligatum, habens multa folia rupta. Item Gradale vetus et notatum male ligatum non de usu Londoñ ecclesie. Item liber troparius notatus in debili percameno et paret sufficiens. Item liber breviarius cum antiphonario notato de bona litera, veteri male ligatus et male custoditus, habens in capite kalendarium vetus. Item liber manualis cum collectis et capitulis et quibusdam exorcismis, et cum ympnis in fine, non ligatis, aliquantulum bene sufficiens. Item psalterium vetus male sufficiens, quia male custoditum. Item aliud psalterium aliquantulum sufficiens. Item pars antiphonarij, incipiens a dominica prima post octabas Pentecostes usque ad primam dominicam mensis Augusti; temporalis, scilicet postmodum sequitur Officium Trinitatis cum sequentibus festivitatibus Sanctorum usque ad festum Sancti Andree. Item officium Dedicacionis Ecclesie, et postmodum Commune Sanctorum. Antiphonarium usque commune Officium de Virginibus totum notatum cum foliis ruptis et male custoditis. Item parvus liber ordinalis in quaternis non ligatis.

Item calix argenteus albus exterius cum tupsa[a] deaurata interius cum cupa vacillante, alias sufficiens. Item unum vestimentum vetus et plenarium cum corporalibus, sed casula ejusdem vetus et rupta sed sepulture tantum apta. Item aliud vestimentum melius cum paraturis de panno serico plenarium et sufficiens cum corporalibus, et cum casula de panno serico ornato paupere aurifrigio dissuta anterius, alias sufficiente. Item iiij^or palle altaris benedicte quarum ij^e habent paraturas. Item vas crismatorium stagneum et sufficiens sed non habet seram. Item nullum vas ad reponendum Corpus Domini, nisi tamen una pixis ad portandum ad egrotos.

Item j rochettum et duo superpellicia. Item unus pannus de rems,[b] ut videtur, ad cooperiendos mortuos. Item iij panni frontales de femis[c] sufficientes aliquantulum. Item manutergium unum ad sacrarium integrum et sufficiens et aliud parvum ad lectorium. Item crux stagnea et depicta super majus altare, et alia parva et portabilis ad efferendum. Item iiij^or phiale stagnee aliquantulum sufficientes. Deficit vas aquarium et candelabra stagnea defficiunt et calix stagneus. Deficiunt et cathene de turribulo. p. 139b.

Item due lampades sunt coram majori altari quas invenit Jamus[d] frater Johannis de Patemore ex gracia et quidem alii parochiani terciam lampadem continue ardentem in officio debent invenire; Thesaurarius non invenit, sed habet vij acras terre arabilis de dono quondam Symonis Baard ad istam inveniendam. Item cereum paschalem invenit parochia per domos et famillas et rotellam simili modo. Item cereos et aliud luminare votivum inveniunt parochiani secundum sua vota; item vexilla, quia nulla. Item fons baptismalis in pariete undique discoopertus. Item cancellum vetus et male obseratum ad quod reparandum quindecim marce sunt prompte de legato quondam A. Thesaurarii.[a] De quibus xx solidi liberantur magistro Willielmo procuratori F. Thesaurarii[b] ad minutos lapides colligendos per parochiam. Item ecclesia non est dedicata. Dicitur quod J. Bayard habuit magnam partem illorum lapidum. ☞ Ecclesia in lateribus male cooperta et instricta. Cimiterium malam habet claustram. Item Capellanus qui ministrat ibidem habet totum altaragium cum minutis decimis, et solvit Thesaurario xl s.

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[a] Tupsa. So in MS. Did the scribe intend to write capsa?

[b] De rems: that is, cloth of Rheims.

[c] De femis. So in MS. Perhaps of Venice work. "The looms of Lucca, Florence, Genoa, Venice, and Milan earned for themselves a good repute in some particulars, and a wide trade for their gold and silver tissues, their velvets, and their figured silken textiles."—Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, lxxi.

[d] Jamus. The scribe seems to have lapsed into English with a Latin termination.

PELLHAM FORNELL.

Status ecclesie de Pellham fornelt[c] inventus in festo Sancti Marci Anno Domini M°CC° lij.

Inventum est Missale plenarium cum gradali bene notato et sufficiens, habens kalendarium in capite, finiens in collectis omnibus pro defunctis. Item in uno volumine troparium et gradale satis plenarium et notatum, sed male ligatum cum foliis ruptis et veteribus. Item in uno volumine legenda bona et sufficiens, temporale cum psalterio bono post legendam terminans in fine cum antiphona *salve Regina*. Item legenda sanctorum in quaternis, incipiens a festo Sancti Andree et terminans in brevi legenda in Dedicacione Ecclesie, sine legenda de Communi Sanctorum. Item in alio volumine male ligato est breviarium habens kalendarium in capite, collectarium intermixtum cum antiphonario notato et psalterio et ympnario, et cum proprio officio Sanctorum quod in parte non est notatum, nec Londoñ nec Sarum ordinem continet, finiens in officio plurimarum Virginum. Item deest liber manualis cum exorcismis et officio mortuorum et baptismi. Item est ibi parvum psalterium bonum et sufficiens.

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[a] A.: that is, probably, Alexander Swerford, Treasurer of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1231-1233, or later.

[b] F.: that is, probably, Fulk de Saunford, Treasurer of St. Paul's.

[c] Pellham Fornell: otherwise called, as in the later inventories, Pelham Furneaux.

Item inventum est ibi vestimentum plenum paratum de serico, cum casula de serico integra et sufficienti, et cum corporalibus integris, et cum tribus pallis altaris benedictis, quarum due habent paraturas de serico veteres. Item aliud vestimentum minus festivale, ornatum paraturis sericis tritum et debile, cum casula de fustamine rubeo veteri et debili cum corporalibus. Item aliud vestimentum vetus et insufficiens, aptum sepulture. Non est ibi rochettus, sed sunt ibi tria superpellicia quorum duo integra et tercium tritum. Item calix parvus vix ponderis x solidorum alba cum cupa interius deaurata. Item crismatorium stagneum sufficiens tamen sine sera. Item vetus pixis ossea, continens parvam pixidem stangneam ad p. 140. reponendum Corpus Dominicum, res nihil et vilis. Item frontale nullius precij ad majus altare, et majus altare habet tabulam lapideam bonam et sufficientem non benedictam. Item tamen superaltare parvum benedictum et sufficiens ad tempus. Item unicum est ibi manutergium ad ablucionem manuum sacerdotis integrum. Item parvum velum quadragesimale vetus, nullius precij. Item ad sacrarium sunt parva manutergia de crismalibus. Est ibi turribulum parvum. Item iiij^{or} candelabra stagnea ad cereos portandos vetera. Item iiij^{or} phiale stagnee veteres. Item tantum unica crux ad portandum et ad offerendum. Item sunt ibi extra chorum iiij altaria, quorum tria habent lapideas tabulas bonas et honestas, quartum est de fragmentis et nullum benedictum. Item ad altare Sancti Nicholai frontale habet honestum de panno inciso, et pallam altaris bordatam de panno serico ex provisione et gracia R. Capellani. Item est ibi fons lapideus intus vestitus

NASTOK.[a]

Ornamenta apud Nastok̃ inventa in crastino Sancti Gregorij Anno Domini M^{o}CC^{o}lj^{o}.[b]

Missale novum et plenarium et bene notatum, habens in capite kalendarium, illuminatum auro, et duas primas literas ejusdem missalis illuminatas auro, et terminatur post Officium Defunctorum in tribus collacionibus de Sancta Radegunda. Item bona legenda in duobus voluminibus paribus et ligatis in asseribus. Item duo libri antiphonariis bene notatis, sed non secundum consuetudinem Londoñ, quorum alter male ligatus. Item gradale bonum et bene notatum sed male ligatum, cum tropario bene notato. Item aliud missale bonum et bene notatum sed magis tritum. Item psalterium bonum et sufficiens. Capitularium et ympnarium bene notatum, habens in fine Commune Officium Sanctorum notatum et kalendarium in principio. Item parvus liber manualis non ligatus cum officio defunctorum. Item liber qui dicitur ordinalis de bona litera sed male ligatus, habens kalendarium debile in capite. Item calix argenteus ponderis xiiijs et parum plus tenuis. Item ad majus altare sunt tres palle benedicte et unum frontale vetus. Ad altare beate Marie sunt tres palle benedicte et bone. Ad aliud altare Sancti Jacobi sunt alie palle non benedicte. Item sunt ibi tria vestimenta plenaria cum tribus casulis, quorum unum magnum sollempne et sufficiens, reliquum cum casula de serico debili et paupere aurifrigio, tercium minus sufficiens cum casula de albo fustamine. Item duo paria corporalium integra et sufficiencia. Item due ampulle et una pelvis stagnea.[c] Item unum turribulum de tempore Limoniocensi.[a] Item crux una de eodem opere. Item crismatorium stagneum aliquantulum sufficiens. Item pixis eburnea p. 141. ad Corpus Domini, sed non habet vas in quo reponatur. Item ij superpellicia sufficiencia et unum[b] vetus minus sufficiens. Item ij rochetti veteres. Item ij veteres casule inutiles preter supradictas, jusse sunt destrui et fieri frontalia; et duo albe veteres sepulture defunctorum tantum sufficientes. Item ad rotellam colliguntur per villatam xxxij đ, scilicet de mesuagio obolus, et tantum colligitur ad cereum paschalem. Propter supradictos denarios constitutus est redditus per Johannem de Bernes: scilicet, xxiij đ, de Waltero Terri et heredibus suis, et j đ de Radulpho le Bunde de terra que vocatur Assartum quam Johannes de Bernes tenuit de Johanne Wig̃ et solvitur ad Pascha ad duos[c] cereos ante altare beate Virginis. Item ecclesia dedicata fuit: ruptum et post superaltare. Item velum quadragesimale vetus et debile.

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[a] In the margin is the following note : "Deficit hic et infra de statu ecclesiarum preterquam de ornamentis. Nastok', Thorp', Walton', Kyrkeby, Belcham, Wykham, Tyllingham, Chingelford, Bernes, Draytone, Ronewell."

[b] St. Gregory's day is March 12.

[c] In the margin is a note : "Ornamenta apud Nastok' inventa in crastino Sancti Gregorij, Anno Domini M^{o}CC^{o}lj^{o}."

TORP.

Ornamenta inventa in ecclesia de Torp'.[d]

Calix argenteus fractus et parvi precij. Item missale vetus et notatum habens kalendarium in capite aliquantulum sufficiens. Item gradale vetus et notatum, non ligatum et male sufficiens. Item breviarium vetus cum psalterio in capite et cum antiphonario non notato inter legenda, et male ligatum et ruptum. Item antiphonarium in asseribus vetus et notatum, multos habens defectus et male ligatum, continens Officium Sanctorum cum temporale. Item liber portehors, qui est Vicarij, de minuta litera habens legendam et plura responsoria et ympnarium cum capitulario et collectario et psalterio. Item parvus liber ympnarius sine asseribus. Item liber ordinalis in asseribus habens officium quarundam processionum in fine. Item aliud gradale vetus in asseribus et notatum sine regula, habens troparium in fine male sufficiens. Item aliud vetus notatum in asseribus. Item ij vestimenta plenaria sunt ibi cum casulis, quarum una vetus et trita, et alia nova de serico bona et sufficiens. Item iij palle altaris nove et benedicte. Item iij veteres quarum alie benedicte et j insufficiens. Item parva pixis argentea ad Corpus Domini reponendum, sed deest lignea sine sera ad illam claudendam. Item ij paria corporalium sordida sed integra. Item vas crismatorium vetus et ruptum et sine sera. Item tres phiale cum pelvi stagnea. Item turribulum ferreum et vetus. Item velum quadragesimale vetus et omnino insufficiens. Item duo superpellicia et unus rochettus nullius precij. Item alia manutergia ad sacrarium sordida et rupta. Item vas aquarium stagneum et sufficiens. Item ij yconie beate Marie honeste ad majus altare, et tabula depicta loco frontalis. Item ymago lignea.

---

[a] Of Limoges work.

[b] The scribe has written unus, but he has placed a mark of erasure under the final letter.

[c] The scribe has written ad duos [illegible], but has erased the last word.

[d] Torp': that is, Thorpe.

Isti subscripti tenent pecora ad sustentacionem luminaris ecclesie de Torp', scilicet oves.

	Ricardus Sap . . .	ij	Gervasius Derman . .	ij
p. 141b.	Hugo carectarius . .	iij	Edilda vidua . . .	j
	Andreas Turben . .	ij	Willielmus de Hida . .	j
	Radulphus Belle . .	iiij	Johannes filius Ricardi .	j
	Alicia relicta Almere .	ij	Radulphus portarius .	ij
	Heymundus filius Marci .	ij	Willielmus Bercarius .	ij
	Sagrim	ij	Thomas filius Symonis .	ij

Summa xxviij et de qualibet redduntur ij đ per annum ad rotellam.

Item alia pecora ad luminare ad cereos coram cruce.

Thomas filius Symonis	ij	Sagrim	j
Thomas Crol	ij	Radulphus de Duna	j
Rogerus Goldwin	j	Ricardus Diabolus[b]	ij
Ricardus Gulidenkewold[a]	j	Walterus Baz	iij
Eadmundus Campe	ij	Cristina vidua	ij
Walterus Hubert	ij	Robertus Walgorum	j

Summa xx de qualibet redduntur ij đ ad cereos coram cruce.

Item alia pecora ad luminare Sancte Margarete.

Eadmundus Campe	ij	Hugo carectarius	j
Willielmus bercarius[c]	j	Heymundus sutor	j
Johannes li poter	j		

Summa vj et de qualibet redduntur ij denarij ad luminare beate Margarete in capella extra ecclesiam per annum.

Item alia pecora ad luminare Sancte Marie in capella extra ecclesiam.

Robertus Walgor	j	Eadmundus Campe	j
Hugo Sagor	j	Heymundus sutor	j
Johannes Blundus	j		

Summa v et de qualibet redduntur ij denarij ad luminare beate Marie in capella extra ecclesiam per annum.

---

[a] The fourth letter in this name has a dot beneath it, marked, probably, for erasure.

[b] Ricardus diabolus. Is this a village nickname, or can it possibly be an attempt to latinise Deville ?

[c] Bercarius: a shepherd.

Item alia pecora ad cereos coram beata Virginis[a] juxta majus altare.

Hugo Horencok . .	ij	Stephanus li Petit . .	iiij
Gervasius de Ecclesia .	j	Walterus Godeholt . .	j
Matilda relicta Heymundi.	vj	Thomas Barkere . .	j
Gervasius filius Jordani .	ij	Ricardus prepositus . .	ij
Thomas Grim . . .	j		

Summa xix[b] et de qualibet redduntur ij denarij per annum ad cereos coram beata Virgine juxta majus altare.

Item de dono Symonis Vicarij ad sustentandum cereum in qualibet missa majoris altaris.

Una marcata ovium vel aliorum de suo proprio dum vixit et de bonis ipsius defungentis providenda ut sit lumen perpetuum. Item de dono Andree filij Stephani ad cereum unum in perpetuo sustinendum modo simili super majus altare j vacca precij v solidorum et vj oves qualibet precij xij đ. Ista tradita sunt in manu Roberti Fabri qui reddet inde xij solidos in festo Sancti Laurencij ad ceram emendam. Item de legato Ricardi filij Thome unam vaccam precij vj š, est in manu relicte ipsius, et reddet inde xij đ per annum ad alium cereum ad predictum festum. Nullus redditus est ad cereum paschalem. Item de legato quondam Asceline de Campo v oves ad unum cereum sustinendum coram altari predicto beate Virginis precij cujusque xij đ. Et sunt in manu Ricardi filij Matilde et reddet inde x denarios per annum.

WALTON.

Ornamenta inventa in ecclesia de Walton'.

Inventum est ibi dominica passionis[c] Anno Domini M°CC°lj°.

---

[a] **Beata Virginis.** So in MS.

[b] **xix.** So in MS., but the sum is xx.

[c] Dominica passionis: Passion Sunday, the fifth Sunday in Lent.

Missale optimum et notatum et sufficiens et plenarium habens in capite kalendarium et in fine partem troparii. Item aliud missale debile. Item antiphonarium in duobus voluminibus optimum p. 142.
sufficiens et plenarium cum legenda psalterio capitulario collectario, et notatum secundum medietatem anni et aliud antiphonarium minoris precij. Item unum ordinale. Item j gradale. Item j troparium. Item j manuale. Item calix argenteus cum duobus paribus corporalium. Item ij paria vestimentorum quorum j casulam de serico est de proquisito[a] Alexandri et parochianorum. Item iij palle benedicte ad majus altare et ij ad altare beate Virginis. Item capa serica ornata aurifrigiis de dono Magistri R. de Stanford.[b] Item ij superpellicia debilia et j rochectus. Item ij candelabra. Item j chalon[c] ad exequias mortuorum. Item j cista parva ex donacione G. quondam Vicarij, plures reliquie ex donacione et concessione predicti G., cum quadam cruce in qua est pars aliqua de Dominico ligno.[d] Item est ibi defectus vasis crismatorij et pixidis ad reponendum Corpus Domini. Item lapis sacrarij nimis humilis est et exaltandus. Item ij tabule lapidee. Desunt duobus altaribus inferioribus quelibet est nunc ex ij frustis et non possunt dedicari. Item desunt tres lucerne in tribus parochiis[e] ad precedendum Corpus Dominicum. Item est parva navicula ad incensum. Item ij phiale stagnee. Item turribulum bonum. Item fons lapideus bonus tamen sine sera. Item velum quadragesimale vetus et ruptum. Item crux portabilis honesta et sufficiens. Item alia crux bona et sufficiens super majus altare. Item desunt tres calices stagnei in tribus parochiis. Item ecclesia est dedicanda. Item tabula depicta loco frontalis.

---

[a] De proquisito. So in the MS.

[b] Fulke of Stanford was Archdeacon of Middlesex from April, 1244, for a short period. He was also Prebendary of Ealdland. Perhaps the person named in the text may have been a kinsman.

[c] Chalon: chalo, chalonus, pars supellectilis lecti, straguli species.—Ducange. Probably a funeral pall.

[d] Dominicum lignum: the wood of the Cross.

[e] Probably the three parishes called "The Sokens," Walton, Kirkby, and Thorpe

Isti tenent pecora ad sustentacionem luminaris de Walton' ad rotellam.

Ricardus li But j ovem solvet . . .	ij đ	Ricardus filius Reyneri vij oves . . .	xiiij đ
Willielmus filius Galfridi ij oves . . .	iiij đ	Johannes de la Hulle j ovem . . .	ij đ
Eadwardus le May ij oves . . .	iiij đ	Galfridus Hamelin ij oves . . .	iiij đ
Alicia relicta Tixtoris ij oves . . .	iiij đ	Juliana de la Holte j ovem . . .	ij đ
Eadmundus le Brun j ovem . . .	ij đ	Alicia relicta Blanci ij oves . . .	iiij đ
Adam filius Cecilie de Marisco v oves .	x đ		

Summa[a] iiij soł, viij đ.

Item ad luminare ante crucem.

Radulphus de Marisco j ovem . . .	ij đ	Gerardus filius Wyberti j ovem . . .	ijđ
Walterus filius Goldive j ovem . . .	ij đ	Ricardus Crisp j ovem .	ij đ
Walterus filius Davidis j ovem . . .	iij oƀ	Henricus Crisp de dimidia ove . . .	j oƀ

Summa[b] x denarij.

Item luminare beate Virginis.[c]

Alicia mater Henrici j ovem . . .	ij đ	Hugo filius Davidis ij oves . . .	iiij đ

---

[a] Summa. So in MS.; lege iiij sol. iiij d.

[b] So in MS.; lege xij den. ob.

[c] At the foot of the page is a note : "Isti tenent pecora ad sustentacionem luminaris de Walton' ad rotellam ;" but it is not clear to whom it refers.

Willielmus filius Galfridi v oves	x đ	
Ricardus le Buc j ovem	ij đ	
Jacobus de Marisco ij oves	iiij đ	
Eadwardus filius Davidis j ovem	ij đ	
Walterus Tubbing j ovem	ij đ	
Saful filius Alani iij oves	vj đ	
Brumman Ewe ij oves	iiij đ	
Thomas filius Roberti iiij oves	viij đ	
Sabina de Spina j ovem	ij đ	
Ricardus Bancum vj oves	xij đ	
Ricardus Hendi j ovem	ij đ	
Eadmundus le Brun ij oves	iiij đ	
Radulphus tixtor j ovem	ij đ	
Jordanus de Olta vj oves	xij đ	
Henricus Turstan vj oves	xij đ	
Walterus Rand' j ovem	ij đ	
Radulphus de Marisco j ovem	ij đ	
Alicia relicta Jordani j ovem	ij đ	
Robertus David ij oves	iiij đ	
Walterus de Stroda j ovem	ij đ	
Matilda filia Roberti j ovem	ij đ	p. 142b.
Galfridus Hamelin j ovem	ij đ	
Henricus Crispus de dimidia ove	j ob	
Robertus de North ij oves	iiij đ	
Henricus de Ponte pro anima W. de Burnham	xij đ	
Idem Henricus de vj ovibus	xij đ	
Ricardus de Stroda j ovem	j đ	
Alexander filius Richolde j ovem	ij đ	

Summa [a] xj sol iiij đ et ob.

Item ad luminare beati Michaelis.

Gerardus filius Wyberdi j ovem	ij đ
Willielmus filius Galfridi iij oves	vj đ
Johannes Kigbel v oves	x đ
Robertus de North j ovem	ij đ

---

[a] So in MS.; lege vj d.

Alicia relicta Livig' j ovem . . .	ij đ	Alexander Clericus ij oves . . .	iiij đ
Alexander li Gant' ij oves . . .	iiij đ	Walterus Goldive ij oves . . .	iiij đ
Eadmundus de la Dune ij oves . . .	iiij đ	Andreas filius Aldive j ovem . . .	j đ

Summa iij soł iij đ.

Item ad luminare ad altare majus.

Jordanus Kelbel ij oves . . .	iiij đ	Robertus de north j ovem . . .	ij đ
Eadwinus de Marisco sive relicta ejusdem j ovem . . .	ij đ	Andreas le Gant j ovem	ij đ
		Walterus de la Strode j ovem . . .	ij đ
Eadwardus le May viij oves . . .	xvj đ	Willielmus filius Galfridi j ovem . . .	ij đ
Saphul filius Estruđ ij oves . . .	iij đ	Randulphus textor j ovem . . .	ij đ
Ricardus Baucun iij oves . . .	iiij đ	Robertus David ij oves . . .	iiij đ

Summa[a] iij s̃ vj đ.

Item ad luminare ad idem altare.

Ricardus le Brit viij oves	xvj đ	Relicta Dannani iiij oves	iiij đ
Alicia relicta Johannis Livig̃ j ovem . .	j đ	Alexander Clericus j ovem . . .	ij đ

Summa xxiij đ

Summa tocius reddendo xxv s̃ vj đ oƀ non est aliquis redditus ad cereum paschalem.[b]

---

[a] So in MS.; lege vij d.

[b] The total is correct if the amounts given by the scribe are accepted. It will require slight modification if the totals are taken as amended.

KIRKEBY.

Ornamenta inventa in ecclesia de Kirkeby.

Inventum est ibi Dominica Passionis Anno Domini M°CC°lj° Missale vetus nullius ordinis cum gradali non notato. Item gradalia duo quorum unum cum tropario et aliud non ligatum sine tropario. Item troparium parvum et vetus. Item antiphonarium bonum et notatum in asseribus sufficiens et bene ligatum. Item liber manualis habens psalterium in capite collectarium capitularium et ympnarium, cum omnibus antiphonis ad *Laudes* et super *Benedictus* et *Magnificat*, tam in temporali quam in festis Sanctorum. Item legenda vetus insufficiens et non ligata. Item alia legenda ab Adventu usque ad Dominicam in ramis palmarum, cum historiis legenda et ympnis de Sancto Michaele [a] et introitu misse. Item omeliarium bonum; temporale a Pascha usque ad Septuagesimam de dono Capituli Sancti Pauli. Item calix argenteus ponderis x solidorum habens pedem debilem. Item pixis eburnea ligata argento ad Corpus Domini reponendum. Item crismatorium vetus et omnino insufficiens. Item aliud novum stagneum et sufficiens. Item tres fiale stagnee. Item pelvis stagnea. Item duo candelabra stagnea. Item vas aquarium stagneum et sufficiens. Item turribulum vetus eneum et insufficiens. Item crux processionalis lignea aliquantulum sufficiens. Item p. 143. quatuor palle benedicte ad majus altare, quarum due sufficientes et alie due fracte et minus sufficientes. Item tria paria corporalium sufficiencia. Item duo paria vestimentorum plenaria cum casulis et aliis, quorum unum bonum principale cum casula de sameto de dono Capituli, et aliud minus sufficiens cum casula de fustanno, et tercium vestimentum omnino insufficiens et fractum et suspensum. Item duo frontalea de linea tela. Item tabula depicta loco frontalis coram majori altari et omnes lapides majoris altaris dissoluti sunt.

---

[a] The church of Kirkby was dedicated to St. Michael.

Missa est postmodum tabula lapidea bona et sufficiens. Duo altaria inferius in ecclesia unum de beata Virgine et aliud de Sancto Petro cum tabulis depictis: nichil est eis depositum ad benedicendum.[a] Item fons marmoris sufficiens sed sine serura.

Ad cereum paschalem redditus, custos Alexander filius Roberti.

Augus Artur .	. j bidentem	Alexander Rewere	. j bidentem
Robertus Cors	. j bidentem	Willielmus de Geudeford .	. j bidentem
Jurdan de Holm̃	. j bidentem	Agnes de Fercles	. j bidentem
Ricardus de Campo	. j bidentem		

Ad luminare beate Marie, custos Jordanus Dives et Robertus de la Bruere.

Jonannes filius Godelote . .	. iiij bidentes	Aliz Luteras .	. j bidentem
Robertus de la Bruere .	. iij bidentes	Agneta de Flek	. j bidentem
Johannes de Bruario	ij bidentes	Stephanus de Venelta	j bidentem
Felix . .	. j bidentem	Thomas de Vilers	. iij bidentes
Robertus May	. j bidentem	Robertus Laude	. viij bidentes
Willielmus Credepol	j bidentem	Ricardus de Campo	j bidentem
Thomas Hamiger	. j bidentem	Elyas filius Mit	. j bidentem
Cristiana de Britħ	. ij bidentes	Johannes del Hel	. j bidentem
		Johannes Cok	. j bidentem
		Gilbertus de Villa	. viij bidentes

Ad luminare ante crucem, custos Alexander.

Willielmus Chabot ij bidentes Agnes de Ferkel ij bidentes. Andreas filius Radulphi ij bidentes.

Ad cereum Sancti Petri.

Thomas de Fiulerf[b] .	iiij đ	Willielmus Bidunt .	. vj đ
Cors	ij đ	Domina Lucas . .	. ij đ
Felix	viij đ		

---

[a] Probably no relics had been inserted.

[b] Fiulerf or Fuilerf.

Ad luminare Sancti Petri, custos Johannes Turstan.

Johannes Turstan	vj bidentes	Tredepel	j bidentem
Radulphus de Hule	j bidentem	Felix	j bidentem

Redditus ad Rotam.

Petrus de Marisco	xj bidentes	Wyot sutor	j bidentem
Radulphus del Hel	ij bidentes	Tredepel	ij bidentes
Thomas filius Hugonis	ij bidentes		

Ad luminare Sancti Michaelis.

Gerardus de Venella	iij bidentes	Benjamin de la Bruere	ij bidentes
Aliz Lucas	j bidentem	Jordanus Dabreħe	ij bidentes p. 143b.
Walterus Sugge	j bidentem	Elyas de Campo	ij bidentes
Robertus de Geldeford	j bidentem	Agnes de Ferkel	j bidentem
Robertus Gendeford	j bidentem	Willielmus de Bruere	ij bidentes
Johannes Hereward	j bidentem	Adam de Marisco	ij bidentes
Alive de Frene	j bidentem	Hugo Tredepel	ij bidentes

Summa vij soł x deñ.

Ad duas lampades in Cancello.

Ricardus Fugge	ij bidentes	Alexander de Rewere	ij bidentes
Aug̃ filius Luce	j bidentem	Gerardus et Stephanus filij Symonis	j bidentem
Barchalot	j bidentem		

Ad luminare ante crucem, custos Gerardus de Venella.

Adam de Marisco	vij bidentes	Jordanus Faber	j bidentem
Aliz Lucas	j bidentem	Ricardus Scavi	j bidentem
Henricus Ailmarus	j bidentem		

I.

INDEX OF NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES.

Aldbury, iv., x., xi., xiv., 16
Alkichesbri, 6

Baldock, Ralph de, Dean, 13
Barling, iv., xiii., 9
Barling, Walter and Peter, vicars of, 9
Bartholomew, Priory of St., Archbishop Boniface visits, vi., viii.
Barthona, Robert de, Dean, 3
Basset, Fulk, Bishop, v.
Belemeus, or Belemeyus, John, Prebendary, 8
Blic, Thomas de, 3
Boniface, Archbishop, v.—viii.
    His visitation of St. Paul's Cathedral, v.
    His violence at St. Bartholomew's Priory, vi., viii.

Chesham Bois, Bucks, monumental brass at, xi.
Chiswick, iv., xi., xii., xiii., 7, 8
Cornhill, Henry de, Dean, iv.—viii.
    His courage in withstanding Archbishop Boniface at St. Paul's, vi.

Edmund, St., Archbishop of Canterbury, constitution of, xii.

Hale, Archdeacon, his *Domesday of St. Paul's* quoted, iii., x., xvi.
Heybridge, iv., xiii., 11
    David, vicar of, 13
    Maintenance of the bridge at, xiii., 12
Hook, Dean, his *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* quoted, v., vi.
Hurland, 3

Innocent IV., Pope, viii.
Ippelega, a field at Willesdon, 3

John and Paul, Saints, 7

Kalewestricke, 3
Kirkby, iv., xi., xiv., 27, 31

Laud, Archbishop, his Visitation of St. Paul's Cathedral, viii.
Lee, Benedict, monumental brass to, xi.
Lee, Parochia de la, 8
Lich, or Lichfield, William de, Canon, 7
Lisieux, Thomas, Dean, iii.
London, St. Magnus, 14
    St. Pancras, iv., xiii., 5

Malyns, Reginald, xviii.
Matthew, Paris, quoted, vii.
Milman, Dean, his *Annals* quoted, viii.
Murymouth, Meremouth, Adam, Canon, xvi., xvii.

Navestock, iv., xi., xii., xiv., xvi.-xviii., 22
Niger, Roger, Bishop, v.
Northburi, 6

Pelham Arsa, iv., x., xiv., 20

Pelham Furneaux, or Fornell, iv., xi., xii., xiv., 18
Processus, Saint, 8

Radegunda, Saint, 22
Ricardus Diabolus, xv., 25
Ruggemere, 6

Saunford, Fulk de, treasurer, 18, 21, 27
Swerford, Alexander, treasurer, 8, 18

Thomas of Canterbury, St., relic of, xiii., 15
Thorpe, iv., xiv., 23, 27
Thorpe, Simon, vicar of, 26
Tillingham, iv., xi., xii., xiii., 13
Tillingham, Saeras, vicar of, 16
Tothale, 6
Twyford, iv., xii., xiii., 4

Walton, iv., xiii., xiv., 26
Westlee, iv., 8
Willesdon, iv., xi., xiv., xviii., 1
Willesdon, Pastorel, a field at, xiv., 3,
  Yppele, a field at, xiv., 3
William, Dean of St. Paul's, 13
Wlstani, translatio beati, 13

Yppele, or Ippelega, name of a field at Willesdon, xiv., 3

II.

INDEX OF MATTERS.

Admallum, asmallum, enamel, 9, 15
Archa de abiete, a chest of firwood, 9
Assartum, terra quæ vocatur, xiv., 23
Auripellum, 2

Bercaria, a sheepfold, xvii.
Bercarius, a shepherd, 25
Bikorn, or bica, a beehive, xviii.
Books, service, x.
    Treasurer of St. Paul's provides a missal, xi.
    Chapter of St. Paul's provide an omeliarium, xi.
    Badly kept at Aldbury, x.
Buteleria, a buttery, xvii.

Camerarius, the Chamberlain of St. Paul's, 8
Celarium, a cellar, xvii.
Chalon, or chalun, a funeral pall, xiii., 9, 27
Chrisom child, a monumental brass to, xi.
Chrisoms, constitution relating to, xii.
Ciphus de mazero, a mazer bowl, xvii.
Coquina cum furno et duobus plumbis, xvii.
Craticla, a gridiron, xvii.
Crismales panni, xi., xii., 14, 19
Cuva, a vat, xvii.

Daieria, a dairy, xvii.
Defrustis, 5
Dies veniales, 11
Dominica passionis, 26, 31
Draco, at Heybridge, xiii., 11

Esmallum, enamel, 3

Femis, panni frontales de, 17
Field names, xiv.
Firma, xvi.
Forciavit, 6
Furura, 4
Fustamen, fustian, 4

Granarium, a granary, xvii.

Lights in churches, xiv.
Lights, the custos of, xiv., 32, 33

Majestas, 14
Masers for use at bride-ales, xviii.
Meschfatte, the vat which contained malt in brewing, xviii.
Milan, silk-weaving at, 2
Molendinum ventriticum, a windmill, xvii.
Mola manualis, a handmill, xviii.

Names of parishioners, xv.

Orthus, for hortus, 1

Pandoxatria, a brewhouse, xviii.
Panni crismales, 14, 19
Patella, a pan, xvii.
Pax of wood and marble mounted with plates of copper, xiii., 6
Pela, a baker's peel, xvii.
Percamenum, parchment, 2
Permentarius, a tailor, 10
Pistor, the miller, 12
Pistrina, a bakehouse, xvii.

Platellæ, plates, xvii.
Portehors, a breviary, 11, 23

Relics, xiii., 27
Relic of St. Thomas à Becket, xiii., 15
Rems, pannus de, 17
Rowell light, Rota, Rotellum, xiii., xiv., 10
Rusca, a beehive, 12

Salsaria, salt-cellars, xvii.
Solarium, an upper chamber, xvii.
Squdelli, probably baskets, xvii.
Statuta Majora et Minora, ix.

Tassellus, 14
Tendulis, or cendulis, shingles, xvii.
Thorallia, xvii.
Tresancia, xvii.
Tynæ, tubs, xvii.

Urceus, a pitcher, 15
Use of St. Paul's, Antiphonarium of, xi.
    Ordinale of, xi.

Vexilla with the Royal Arms, 15
Visitation of churches belonging to St. Paul's, articles of enquiry at, ix.

Wimpla, a wimple, xiii., 9

Yilingfatte, the vat in which ale is worked, xviii.

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"THE SPOUSELLS" OF THE PRINCESS MARY

DAUGHTER OF HENRY VII.,

TO

CHARLES PRINCE OF CASTILE.

A.D. 1508.

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M.DCCC.XCIII.

PREFACE.

In the year 1814 Mr., afterwards Sir Henry, Ellis called the attention of the Society of Antiquaries to an English tract printed by Pynson, of which a unique and fragmentary copy existed in the British Museum, giving an account of a really remarkable event in the end of Henry VII.'s reign, of which very little notice had been taken by historians. This was the reception of an embassy from the Emperor Maximilian to make a final conclusion, so far as diplomacy could do so, of the marriage already negociated between Henry's daughter Mary, said to be then about eleven years old (though I am afraid she was a little older)[a] with Maximilian's grandson, Charles Prince of Castile, a boy in his ninth year, who ultimately became the renowned Emperor Charles V. Of the contents of this tract, or of the portions then extant, Mr. Ellis gave a pretty full description, accompanied by copious extracts, in a letter to Mr. Samuel Lysons, which was printed in the eighteenth volume of the *Archæologia*; and in 1818 the whole of the existing text was reproduced in lithographic facsimile by the Roxburghe Club. Such an interesting typographical curiosity, illustrated as it was by two woodcuts—the one a frontispiece, the other a colophon with Pynson's mark and an ornamental border—seemed well to

[a] See note as to Mary's age at the end of this Preface.

deserve reproduction by lithography. The unique original copy had certainly been maltreated; the existing leaves were slightly mutilated, and from the stain upon the margin they seemed to have been used for the interior of a book-cover. The original remains to this day a very imperfect copy; but one leaf of the lost portion has since been recovered, and, having been purchased by the British Museum from the Trustees of Canon Greenwell in 1885, it is now inserted in the tract.

A narrative of such a description printed by Richard Pynson must of course have been published by authority; but Ellis was not aware that it was published at the time in Latin as well as in English. Nor would the fact be readily discovered even now by searching book catalogues under the name of Mary or of Charles; for the Latin edition did not bear either name upon the title page. The existing copy in the Grenville library appears to be perfect; and the only title that it bears is "Petri Carmeliani Carmen," which is merely that of the introductory poem.[a] It is most sumptuously printed upon vellum in a rather larger type than the main text of the English, and illustrated with four woodcuts, two of which are identical in design with those which adorn the English edition, but are finer in execution.[b] The other two were probably not included in the English edition at all; both the beginning and the end of the English tract are perfect, and though there is no pagination, it is pretty certain from the signatures of the sheets that the text, apart from the title page and colophon, extended only to twenty-three pages; while the Latin, omitting the illustrations, the title page, and the poem at the end, to which there is nothing corresponding in the English, amounts actually to forty-three pages. Now, though the exact proportion varies in different parts of the narrative, a page of the English, which is, with the exception of the first paragraph, in a smaller type than the Latin throughout, generally contains all but a few lines less than the matter contained in two pages of the other. It would seem, therefore, that the twenty-three pages of the English tract must have been fully occupied by letterpress, and that there was no room for the two other illustrations.

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[a] It seemed to me at first that a title page must have preceded the prefatory poem and been lost; but the leaf which contains the poem is clearly the first leaf of the first sheet, the next leaf bearing the signature A ii. This, in the opinion of Mr. Graves of the British Museum, proves that there could have been no general title-page. The title prefixed in this Edition, "Solennes Ceremoniæ et Triumphi," is borrowed from the text. See page 2.

[b] The two sections of the lower part of the frontispiece may be from the same blocks in both editions; but the higher part, though the design corresponds in the minutest details, is much coarser work in the English edition than in the Latin.

The Latin, therefore, was the finer and more sumptuous edition of the two, being intended for the use of a more refined and highly-educated public, abroad, no doubt, as well as at home. The English, which was probably translated from the other (for it does not strike me as being the original), was most likely a cheap edition to gladden the hearts of Henry's own loyal subjects. The text of the Latin, like the prefatory poem and the poetical epilogue by which it was accompanied, was probably the work of Peter Carmelianus, Henry VII.'s Latin Secretary.

The original frontispiece prefixed to both editions of this tract has been drawn and engraved on wood by my friend Mr. Ebsworth, who had generously offered to make drawings of the three other woodcuts also and engrave them himself for this edition. Unhappily his state of health has prevented him from fulfilling this intention, and the reader must now be satisfied with the descriptions of the other woodcuts given by the Editor in the places where they occur in the text.

It will be seen that the two tracts are printed here on the same pages, one above the other, so as to enable the reader easily to compare the two. The translation is on the whole pretty close, but there are parts where the Latin gives somewhat fuller details than the English, as, for instance, at pp. 28—31, where the English, although the text is perfect here, omits altogether the substance of some paragraphs, and condenses others so much that it only gives a single page to what occupies four pages in the Latin edition.

So much for the form of these original documents, and for what concerns the editing. It remains to say a word or two about their substance and historical value. To the modern reader it may perhaps appear that their contents are little more than a flourish of trumpets over an ambitious project which led to no result. And it is true the project itself was in a few years set aside. The future of Europe was not actually shaped in accordance with the patient and skilful diplomacy which seemed to be crowned with such brilliant success in December, 1508. But if we are to dismiss from the page of history, as unworthy of serious attention, all the projects which have ended in smoke, we shall take pretty nearly the whole life out of the record. The things for which men strove (whether statesmen or common men) deserve, surely, quite as much attention in history as the things which they accomplished.

The "espousal," or, as we may call it, the betrothal of his daughter Mary to young Charles, Prince of Castile, was a masterstroke of Henry the Seventh's policy achieved at the very end of his reign—only four months, in fact, before his death. It was not altogether without important results during the five years following, and it was really a far more wholesome piece of business in itself than what the other leading powers of Europe were negotiating during that very month of December at Cambray. Partly, no doubt, it was a move of Henry, with a view to pay off old scores against Ferdinand of Arragon, who, though still an ally, had treated him very badly. But the main object was to increase the power and influence of England all over Europe, and secure for the King of England's daughter a most enviable position by allying her with a young prince, the possibility of whose succession to a large number of rich and important kingdoms was even then quite visible to the eye of a politician.

The uncertain thing about it, of course, was whether the House of Austria could be relied on to fulfil its engagements. But these were made as binding in the meantime as such engagements could be; and the mere prestige of what was actually done was a considerable guarantee for its ultimate completion. The eyes of Europe were dazzled by the alliance, and when the ambassadors came and Lord Berghes as the proxy for the young prince actually set the ring upon the finger of the girlish bride, England really seemed to have taken quite a new position in the world. The Red Rose of the Tudors, to use the flowery simile of the narrator, now bloomed in Imperial gardens; and whatever statesmen, who knew its secrets, may have thought of the glory of the Holy Roman Empire, it is certain that it had a powerful influence still on the popular imagination.

The Emperor Maximilian, indeed, was unsteady enough, and Henry was undoubtedly aware that all the securities taken would have been quite insufficient to hold him to his engagements if at any time hereafter more tempting offers were held out to him elsewhere. But for the present there was no fear. Always in want of money, and not least so now when bewitched by France into a league for the spoliation of Venice, he looked to Henry as a money lender and pledged to him a valuable jewel for 50,000 crowns. Henry, who had warned Venice beforehand of her danger, had no sympathy with the plot which his other allies were hatching, and did not expect Maximilian to reap much profit from it;

there were too many other freebooters engaged, far more sharp-sighted than the Emperor. But he had a plan of his own to suggest that would do Maximilian good and himself too. Maximilian, if he played his cards judiciously, might use his new friendship with France to cool that which had lately sprung up between France and Arragon, and then he could effectually demand of Ferdinand the government of Castile, in right of his grandson Charles. This was the policy which Henry was secretly urging Maximilian to pursue, and it is a curious question whether the English King, if he had lived but a few years longer, would not have succeeded in using the Emperor as an automaton to wrest the government of Castile from Ferdinand and to govern it himself.[a]

That such was Henry's intention there can be very little doubt; and Ferdinand very well knew that it was his intention, though Englishmen at home were profoundly ignorant of it, and have remained so almost ever since. Lord Bacon, indeed, in his History of Henry VII., says that this was "a tradition in Spain though not with us," and he evidently thinks it not at all improbable, though later historians have passed over the matter in silence. But the diplomatic records brought to light in our day have made the matter certain; and the following extract from a ciphered despatch of John Style, Henry VII.'s ambassador in Spain, will show how well Henry had studied the situation, and how valuable the little treatise we are discussing was in promoting the object that he had in view. Style's English, it is true, is a little uncouth, but there is no mistake about his meaning:—

"And it please your Grace, I delivered unto the King of Arragon the copy written in Latin of the noble triumph of the noble marriage of my lady Mary your noble daughter and the Prince of Castile. The King commanded Almaçan to copy it into Castelyas; howbe that your Grace may be right well insured that it is much more displeasure to the King and all his affinity than comfort to hear of the said noble marriage; insomuch, and it please your Grace, that they say and will not believe that the said excellent marriage is so concluded. And the true Castilians, as the Great Captain,[a] and many other, to whom I have given copies written in Castilian, they do believe it, and take great rejoicing therein, and thereby they do trust for to have right much succour and comfort. And as to the said Great Captain, as by my other letters of late, I have certified unto your Highness that he was determined for to do his service unto your Grace and unto the Emperor, and in the right and favor of the Prince of Castile, his natural lord; how be that the saying of the said Duke[b] is, and it please your Grace, that he of late considereth the great slackness that is in the Emperor in many ways, saying that it is nearby a whole year that a servant of his hath been in the Emperor's court for to know his pleasure, of the which he can have none answer; the which putteth him in great fear how that he and his company should be entreated in case that he and they came thither. And also he sayeth that he saith not what service that he should do in that parts, unless that the Prince's coming should be hitherwards shortly. That notwithstanding the said Duke's saying is that in case that your Highness shall please for to command him, or the Emperor or the Prince's Council will write unto him, assuring him that he shall be by them entertained and entreated to his honor, that then immediately he will repair unto them with all diligence to him possible, the which he may not do without great danger or jeopardy of the losing of a great part of his goods here, and all the lands that he hath in the realm of Naples; for in case so were that the said Duke were departed from hence, all this land should be in trouble and his friends; how be that, and it please your Grace, that no man's departing from this land may be more to the comfort of the Prince and to the displeasure of the King of Arragon than this Great Captain, the which as yet he, nother his friends, have not been favorably dealt withal by the King of Arragon. How be that, and it please your Grace, now daily I understand that the King maketh means to the said Great Captain and to the Marquis de Plego, the Count de Cabra, and other, for to have them incline unto him; the which I fear me that they will so do of very necessity, unless that they shall shortly have other comfort from your Highness and from the Emperor and the Prince's Council. As unto the Marquis de Villena and the Count de Benavente, the King hath rewarded them with great rents, so, and it please your Grace, that the said Marquis and Count do continue in this Court with the King, how be that trust his Highness hath none unto the said Marquis. Many great estates be well minded to the Prince, but in especial the Duke de Najara and the Count de Miranda, and in no wise there can no man be suffered to pass into Flanders; for many lords, gentlemen, and other would depart in case that they might pass, and such as that be taken going or coming from the Prince be sore prisoned without favor.

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[a] See my Letters and Papers, Ric. III. and Henry VII., i. 360-1.

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[a] Gonsalvo Fernandez of Cordova.

[b] Gonsalvo had the title of Duke of Terranova. See Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII., Vol. I., No. 3593, at the end of Style's despatch.

"Your Grace may be well insured that the King of Arragon is sore displeased with the conclusion of the marriage of the Prince of Castile, and so the bishop Don Pedro said unto me in secret that the King his lord had reason so for to be discontented, seeing the Prince which that should be his inheritor for to be married without his assent, the said bishop saying it would grieve a poor man for to see his inheritor for to be married without his assent, and much more a great prince as that the King my lord is."[a]

Ferdinand was relieved from many apprehensions by the death of the astute king who had made this dangerous move against him. Henry VIII. succeeded his father and established at once better terms with Spain by marrying Katharine of Arragon. But the marriage of Charles of Castile with Mary was not dropped. Ferdinand, indeed, did not love it much better than before, but he agreed to ratify it, and not only told the English ambassador that he was entirely satisfied with it, but promised to make his satisfaction publicly known in Spain.[b] How could he do otherwise?

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[a] Memorials of Henry VII. (Rolls Series), pp. 438–440.

[b] Calendar of Henry VIII., Vol. I., Nos. 27, 240, 490 (p. 68).

The thing had gone too far not to be frankly recognised. Not only had the proxy marriage been effected, but the young bridegroom had actually written to Mary calling her his wife, and to her father calling him his father, and to her brother calling him his brother. So far, we are told (see pages 33, 34), Charles had actually committed himself, or rather been committed (for it must be remembered he was not yet nine years old), soon after the return of the embassy; and though the letters to Henry VII. are not extant, nor to his son Prince Henry, there is one to Mary herself which seems to have been written, not after the return of the embassy in December 1508, but while it was yet in England. It is couched in the following terms :—

CHARLES OF CASTILE TO THE PRINCESS MARY.

Ma bonne compaigne, le plus cordialement que je puis a v[ostre] bonne grace me recommande. Jay charge le Sieur de Bergh[ez] et autres mes ambassadeurs ordonnez par de la vous deviser [de la] disposition de ma personne et de mes affaires, vous priant l[es] vouloir croire et par eulx me faire savoir de vostre santé [et autres] bonnes nouvelles, qui est la chose que plus je desire, c[omme] scet le benoit Filz de Dieu, auquel je prie, ma bonne com[paigne], vous donner par sa grace ce que desirez. A Malines, [ce] xviij^{e} jour de decembre.

Vostre bon mary
(*Signed*) CHARLES.
(*Countersigned*) P. HANETO[N]

(*Addressed*) : A dame Marie ma bonne compaigne.[a]

This letter has been hitherto attributed to the year 1513 and is noticed under that date in the Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII., Vol. I., No. 4606. Even in that case it is the earliest letter extant (so far as I am aware) of the future Emperor Charles V. But there is no other evidence of the Sieur de Berghes having been sent to England in embassy in December, 1513, though he had negotiated with Henry VIII. at Lille in the previous October. And here it is to be observed that Berghes is not only ambassador for the young prince in England, but it is distinctly indicated that he had colleagues with him in his embassy. Moreover, the extremely boyish signature attached to the document (the subscription "vostre bon mary, Charles," is all that is in his handwriting) is much more like that of a lad in his ninth year than that of one in his fourteenth. And this argument gains strength when we compare it with a signature of his after he had just completed his fifteenth year, that is to say, in his letter to Henry VIII., written on the 8th March, 1514[-15].[a] Here the handwriting is already that of a well-practised writer. Charles was evidently precocious in his handwriting, as in other things, and his signature at fifteen has a freedom and vigor about it quite beyond his years. But the words "vostre bon mary, Charles" in the letter above transcribed, though very well written, are distinctly in the hand of a young schoolboy.[b]

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[a] MS. Cott., Galba B III. 93. The original letter is slightly mutilated.

Ferdinand could easily afford to wait a year or two before intriguing to set aside the match. Young Henry VIII. was not yet such a skilled diplomatist as his father had been. He at once celebrated his own marriage with Ferdinand's daughter, which his father had purposely delayed, and seemed disposed, for his part, to cultivate the best relations with his father-in-law. Not many years, however, elapsed before he had bitter experience of Ferdinand's perfidy as an ally when he himself was engaged in a war with France; and shortly afterwards he became well aware of the King of Arragon's intrigues to break off the marriage between Charles and Mary. There was nothing Ferdinand dreaded so much as the coming of Charles to Castile; and it was credibly said that he would be glad if the young prince died.[a] Even after the match was broken off, it was believed that he paid a pension to Margaret of Savoy to keep him in the Netherlands.[b] But he took care not to show his hand in what he did. It was no use saying anything against the marriage so long as Maximilian and the Prince's own councillors did not raise objections; and while Maximilian was co-operating with Henry in the war against France in 1513, not a syllable was uttered against it. The marriage was to take place just after the Prince had completed his fourteenth year (it was a shameful fashion, but it was the fashion, to make marriages so early), and it was more definitely fixed by a treaty made at Lille in October, 1513, to take place before the 15th May following.[c] Ferdinand himself once more expressed his assent to it[d]; and everything seemed going smoothly, although Henry very well knew that his father-in-law was secretly trying to interrupt it.[e] Nay, we find Henry VIII., when at the camp before Therouenne, granting an annuity of 20*l.* to a Fleming named John de Serffe until the marriage should take place.[f] But as the time drew near in 1514 the Prince's councillors began to raise objections. They disliked the disparity of age, and Maximilian was anxious about his grandson's health. When the English proposed that the marriage should be at Calais, Margaret of Savoy could not be got to answer. She delayed and put off as long as she could, to consult her father the Emperor, and Maximilian, who was then in Austria, wanted it put off at least to the *end* of May, in order (forsooth) that he might be present.[a]

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[a] MS. Cott. Galba B. III., 138. Calendar of Henry VIII., Vol. II., No. 234.

[b] One argument, indeed, seems to militate against the date of this letter being 1508. It is countersigned by Haneton, who was actually a member of the embassy then in England. But it is clear that it was written and prepared for signature some time before it was actually signed; for both the month and the day of the month were originally left blank, and the "xviij" and "decembre" have been distinctly filled up in the blank spaces by another hand.

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[a] Calendar of Henry VIII., Vol. I., No. 4058.

[b] Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., No. 564.

[c] Calendar, Vol. I., Nos. 4508, 4512, 4560.

[d] Ib., No. 4296, ii.

[e] Ib., No. 4328.

[f] Ib., No. 4416, and Rymer, XIII., 374.

The explanation of it all was this. Ferdinand, after the death of Isabella, depended generally on an alliance with France to secure him in possession of Castile. Soon after the conclusion of the league of Cambray, however, it seemed as if France was going to win all the profits, and Ferdinand made a league with Henry VIII. against France. An English army landed in Guipuscoa expecting aid from Ferdinand to conquer Guienne. Their presence helped him to obtain possession of Navarre, but he sent not a single soldier to join them, and when he had secured his own object he made a separate truce with Louis XII. From that time he took no pleasure in the success of the English, and his neutrality was of the highest value to Louis. It became the policy of France to promote the interest of Ferdinand; the chief councillors of the Prince of Castile in the Low Countries were always French at heart, and the Emperor Maximilian was very easily won over.

But before many months had passed, Henry was able to requite the double-dealing alike of Ferdinand and of Maximilian. While the Emperor was still wasting breath and energy in insincere excuses which Henry declined to accept,[b] Henry had struck the final blow and caused Mary to renounce the marriage.[c] He had turned the tables on his enemies, and laid the foundation of an advantageous peace and alliance: and Mary, instead of being the bride of a boy four years her junior, was now destined for an old man on the verge of the grave, Louis XII.

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[a] Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. I., Nos. 4932, 4976, 5018, 5029, 5030.

[b] Calendar, Nos. 5041, 5126, 5152, 5290.

[c] Ib., No. 5212.

NOTE AS TO THE AGE OF THE PRINCESS MARY.

A lady's age is often a delicate subject when she is alive, but it is perplexing to find that the best authorities are contradictory centuries after she is dead. Here the Latin tract (and, of course, the English said the same) tells us, perhaps with studied ambiguity, that she was "about" eleven (*agebat circiter undecimum ætatis annum*).[a] If she was in her eleventh year she must have been born in 1497 or 1498. But the spring of 1496 is, as we shall see, the very latest date to which we can refer her birth. Her own brother Henry VIII., writing to the Pope when her engagement was broken off, tells him that she was betrothed at thirteen or when she was nearly thirteen (*cum vix annum tertium decimum attigisset*) to the Prince of Castile, then in his ninth year (*annum tunc nonum agenti*).[b] There is no doubt he gave the age of the Prince correctly, and he could have had no object in attempting to deceive the Pope as to that of his own sister, who, from what he wrote, must have been born either in 1496 or in the very end of December, 1495. This date, moreover, is confirmed by a news letter of 1st March, 1499, written from London (Calendar of Venetian Papers, Vol. I., No. 790), which says that Henry had just told the Duke of Milan's ambassador that he declined to give his daughter to the Duke, she being then three years old. Further, Erasmus in a letter to Botzheim (*Catalogus Erasmi Lucubrationum*, Basle, 1523), describes a visit that he paid to the royal household at a date which we can fix with certainty to the latter part of the year 1499, or, at latest, January, 1500. Arthur, Prince of Wales, was then absent, but Erasmus saw his brother Henry (afterwards Henry VIII.), who, he says, was then nine years old (he was born in June, 1491), Margaret (afterwards Queen of James IV.), who was "nearly eleven" (she was born in November, 1489), Mary, who was four, and Edmund (born in February 1499, and dead within a year after), an infant in arms. The reckonings of Erasmus, it is clear, are not absolutely accurate, but they are pretty close; and they also would place Mary's birth either in 1495 or in 1496. Further, there is positive evidence that it could not have been later than the early part of 1496, and that it was probably in March; for Mrs. Green discovered long ago a Privy Seal Bill authorising a payment of 50 shillings to the child's nurse, Anne Skeron, for a quarter's salary due at Midsummer, 11 Henry VII. (1496), along with the usual *half yearly* payments of some other attendants at the Court. The nurse, therefore, was probably engaged in March (see "Lives of the Princesses," Vol. V., p. 2 *note*).

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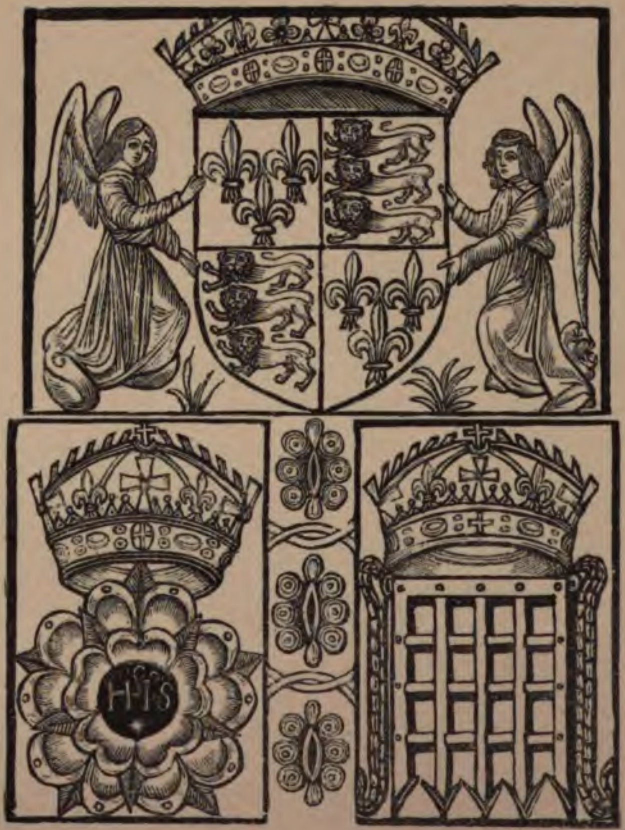
[a] See page 19.

[b] See the letter in Fabronio, Leonis X. Vita, 278.


IHS

SOLENNES CEREMONIÆ ET TRIUMPHI.

Petri Carmeliani Carmen.

Anglia, perpetuos tibi dat rosa rubra triumphos,
  Perpetuum nomen, perpetuumque decus.
Hec tua Cesareis redolens crosa rescit in hortis.
  Atque aquilam lignis jungit utranque suis.
Septimus Henricus, sapiens Rex, regula morum,
  Celeste ingenium cum probitate tenens,
Ad tantos solus vigilans te vexit honores.
  Ergo abs te debet jure volente coli.

Below these verses is a frontispiece (reproduced in facsimile opposite), filling three-quarters of the page, representing the royal arms supported by angels, with the Tudor double rose and portcullis below.

[*English Edition.*]

The Solempnities & triumphes doon & made at the Spouselles and Mariage of the Kynges doughter the Ladye Marye to the Prynce of Castile Archeduke of Austrige.

Below this is a reproduction of the engraving described above.

HOC presenti libello humili stilo edito ad faciliorem[a] legentium[b] intellectum continentur honorifica gesta, solemnes cerimonie et triumphi nuper habiti in suscipienda magna atque egregia sacratissimi principis Maximiliani Romanorum Imperatoris semper Augusti, simul et Illustrissimi ac potentissimi sui filii Karoli, Principis Castelle Archiducis Austrie legatione ad serenissimum potentissimumque principem Henricum Septimum, Anglie et Francie Regem dominumque Hybernie destinata, pro sponsalibus et matrimonio inter prefatum Illustrissimum principem Karolum et illustrissimam ac nobilissimam principem Dominam Mariam, prenominati Regis Henrici filiam charissimam cotrahendis; Necnon Ritus et ordo in hujusmodi sponsaliorum et matrimonii celebratione adhibiti et observati, cum immenso gaudio et mutua hinc inde leticie expressione ac demostratione,[c] simul et hylari atque jucundo vultu, munificientia et liberalitate ipsis Oratoribus qua[m]diu in Regno Anglie immorati sunt exhibitis ac demonstratis.

HERAFTER folowe and ensue suche honourable and notable actes, solempnyties, ceremonyes and triumphes that were lately doon made and shewed, as well for the receyvynge of the great and noble Ambassade lately sent to the Kynges hyghnes frome the moost excellent Prynce his moost d[ere] and entierly beloved Brother and cousyn Themperoure and his good sone Charles the yonge Prynce of Castell, Archeduke of Austriche, for the spouselles and mariage to be had and made betwixt the said Prynce and the kynges right dere and noble doughter the Ladye Marye, nowe Pryncesse of Castyle. As also suche forme, ordre and maner as was used and had in the solempnysacion and contractynge of the sayd spouselles and mariage, with the cherefull and honourable entretaignynge of the sayd Ambassadours durynge their abode within this Reame.

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[a] Misprinted "facmorem."

[b] Legetiū in original.

[c] *Sic.*

Et primum quidem, quoniam inter oratores dictorum Imperatoris et principis Karoli ex una, et Oratores antedicti Regis Anglie Henrici Septimi, ex altera parte, in oppido Calisie tractatus conventio et conclusio perantea esset habita et determinata: non solum pro perpetua pace et amicicia inter ipsos Imperatorem[a] et Karolum principem ac Regem Anglie invicem ineunda et percutienda, sed etiam pro jugali federe sponsaliorum et matrimonii inter prefatos illustrissimos principes Karolum et Mariam feriendo. Idcirco, pro pleniore complemento eorum omnium que prius conclusa et determinata in dicto oppido fuissent, prenominatus Dominus Imperator suam magnam et laudabilem legationem octo insignium virorum ad ipsum serenissimum Regem Henricum misit.

Quorum primus fuit dominus de Bergis,[b] ex majoribus patrie illius dominis unus.

Secundus vero gubernator Brissie,[c] vir magni honoris et estimationis.

Firste, where as here tofore a treatie, convencion and conclusion was had and taken at y^e^ towne of Calays, betwixte the kynges Ambassadours on y^e^ one partie, And Thambassadours of the said Emperoure and yonge Prynce on the other partie, as well for a perpetuall peax and amytie betwixt the sayde Emperoure, the kynges highnes, and the said yonge Prynce Charles, As also for mariage to be made betwixt the same Prynce an[d the] kynges said right dere doughter the ladye Marye: So it is y^t^ for the perfecte accomplisshement of all suche thynges as were there passed the sayd Emperour now of late sente his right great and honourable Ambassade, beynge in nombre eyght parsonages:—Whereof the firste was the lord Bargez[b] oon of the gretest lordes of those parties. The seconde was the governour of Bresse,[c] a baron of great honour.

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[a] Misprinted "Impecatore."

[b] John lord of Berghes, the Emperor's Chamberlain.

[c] Laurence de Gorrevod, governor of Bresse.

Tertius, Doctor Splonke,[a] non mediocris apud Cesaream Majestatem auctoritatis homo.

Quartus, Presidens Flandrie,[b] vir admodum prudens et litteratus ac magno in precio habitus.

Quintus, dominus Andreas de Burgo, Eques, Cesaree majestatis consiliarius, singularis sapientie doctrine et experientie Orator.

Sextus, Casselensis prepositus,[c] vir prestans, litteratus et circumspectus.

Septimus vero, Secretarius unus[d] apprime modestus ac moribus compositus.

Octavus, e Regibus Armorum Aurei Velleris unus.

Omnes sane honorifico amictu et splendido apparatu conspicui, simul et decora ac decenti familia stipati. In quorum societatem

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The thirde doctoure Fploneke,[a] in great favour and auctorite with Themperoure. The fourth was the president of Flaundres,[b] havyng greate wysdome, lernyng and auctorite. The fyfthe Mesyr Andrea de Burgo, a knyght of Themperours Counsayll, of great wysedome, lernynge, and experience, The sixth the provost of Cassell,[c] a goodly personage, right discrete, sadde and well lerned. The seventh a secretary.[d] And y^e^ eyght a kyng at armys called Toyson dore. All beyng honourably appoynted and well complures magni generosi ac domini venerunt. Inter quos[a] Dominus de Beuers,[b] Dominus de Walleyn[c] et alii itidem ejus patrie nobiles, numero non mediocri et valde honorifico.

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[a] Splonke, Fploneke. The name, which was really Pflug, is misprinted both in the English and in the Latin. In Rymer it appears in one place (Vol. xiii. 228) as Pileng, and in another as Plough (238); while Wolsey, in his despatches to Henry VII., calls him Dr. Flucke. His Christian name was Sigismund, and his degree was *Doctor utriusque juris* or LL.D.

[b] Jean le Sauvaige.

[c] George de Theimseke, of whom Sir Thomas More speaks in his *Utopia* as "a man not only by learning, but also by nature, of singular eloquence, and in the laws profoundly learned; but in reasoning and debating of matter, what by his natural wit and what by daily exercise, surely he had few fellows."

[d] This was Philip Haneton, the Emperor's first secretary and *audientiarius*.—*See* Rymer xiii. 230.

Pro tanta igitur Legatione suscipienda et a littore maris usque ad Regis presentiam adducenda plurimi magnates, tum ecclesiastici tum seculares, Equites, insuper scutiferi, ac alii nobiles innumeri, variis locis e regio mandato sunt constituti ac deputati.

Ut primum itaque oratores ipsi Calisiam applicuere, confestim a regio inibi deputato[d] atque ab officiariis et armigeris ejus oppidi humaniter atque honorifice sunt excepti hospitatique, et benigne ac liberaliter tractati : simul et omni eo tempore quo ibidem moram traxere pluribus muneribus donati.

Inde vero prefatus regius deputatus, vir nobilis ac strenuus, decenter apparatus et associatus, una cum ipsis oratoribus et eorum sequacibus, simul et tota illorum familia ac caterva comitante ab

accompanyed. In whose company there came dyverse great lordes, as monsyr de Bevers[b] and monsire de Walleyn[c] and other gentylmen of those parties, a good and honourable nombre.

For the metyng and conductynge of whiche Ambassadours at and from y^e^ see syde to the kynges presence, there were at sundrye places deputed and assigned many and dyverse great Lordes, bothe spirituell and temporall. And also knyghtes, squyers and other gentyll men to a great nombre.

And firste, after that y^e^ sayd Ambassadours at y^e^ kynges towne of Calays had ben by the kynges deputie[d] and the hedde officers with all the Retynue there goodly receyved, honourably lodged, cherefully entertaigned and presented durynge theyr abode in the sayd towne ; the kynges sayd deputie, well appoynted and accom-

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[a] Misprinted "quoe."

[b] Adolphe de Bourgogne, Seigneur de Bevres (Beveren).

[c] John de Berghes Seigneur de Walhain eldest son of John lord of Berghes above mentioned.

[d] Sir Gilbert Talbot.

ipso oppido Calisie, quod Caletum veteres dixere, mare trajecit atque ad portum Dobre secundo vento applicuit: ubi Prior Ecclesie Christi Cantuarie[a] et dominus Edwardus Ponynghs, Eques, primum ipsos oratores exceperunt: eosque ad civitatem usque Cantuariam, primariam Regni metropolim, honorifice adduxerunt: tradito illis et assignato in eadem Christi ecclesia hospitio. Quo in loco Abbas Sancti Augustini,[b] majorque et primarii ejus urbis cives, aldermanni vulgo nuncupati, ipsos oratores salutarunt, pluribusque et egregiis donis atque humanissimis officiis sunt eos prosecuti. Deinde a dictis Priore et deputato Calisie ac domino Edwardo Ponynghs aliisque multifariam nobilibus comitati, ad oppidum Sittyngborne vocatum, atque abinde ad aliud oppidum, Darford nuncupatum, adventarunt; ubi comes Salopie,[c] Regie domus magnus Senescallus, necnon et Episcopus Wyngorniensis[d] ac prior sancti Johannis,[e] simul et dominus Thomas Brandon, Ordinis Garterii Eques, ac Dominus Doctor West,[f] Regius consiliarius, egregie

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panyed, passed with them from thense to Dovoure, where the pryoure of Cristes Churche[a] at Caunterbury and Sir Edwarde Ponynges receyved the sayd Ambassadours, and conductynge theym to the Cytie of Caunterbury, lodged theym in the pryoure of Cristes Churche lodgyng, where thabbot of saynct Augustines,[b] the Mayer and Aldremen of that Cytie welcomed theym and gave great presentes and pleasures unto theym.

From thense they were conveyed by the sayde Pryoure, the deputie of Calays and Sir Edwarde Ponynges well accompanyed with dyuer [*From this point some pages in the English text are missing.*]

[a] Thomas Goldstone. [b] John Dygon.

[c] George Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury.

[d] John de Giglis Bishop of Worcester, Papal agent in England.

[e] Sir Thomas Docwra, prior of the Knights of St. John at Clerkenwell.

[f] Dr. Nicholas West, afterwards Bishop of Ely.

apparati, plurimis Equitibus, scutiferis et nobilibus sumptuoso habitu et equitatu associati ipsis oratoribus facti sunt obvii; eosque ad civitatem usque Londoniarum perduxere, eisdem continue assistentes.

Porro Major[a] et Aldermanni ejus urbis simul et ordines artificum mox in unum recta linea congregati sunt ad eos oratores excipiendos, et ut eorum adventui gratificarentur; sicque per urbem leniter adequitantes, ad preparata illis diversoria, ditissimis auleis tapetibusque et aliis ornamentis decora, ac necessariis quibusque et oportunis rebus provisa, tandem sunt adducti. Erat equidem dies quinta Decembris currente anno a Natale Christiano Milleno Quingenteno octavo, et serenissimi Regis Henrici Septimi vicesimo quarto.

Postera vero die illucescente Reverendissimus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis,[b] Anglie Cancellarius, ac illustris comes Oxonie, Magnus Camerarius et Admirallus Anglie, ipsos oratores (Rege mandante) visitarunt salutaruntque, eorum aduentui gratulantes. Inde Consul urbis quem *majorem* vocant, simul et plebis tribuni quos vulgus *Schirifos*[c] appellat, et ipsi dictos Oratores visitarunt, egregia munera illis offerentes. Preterea mercatores Stapule et alii quamplurimi cives proxima post illam die adveniente itidem fecerunt. Cum itaque oratores ipsi biduo in primaria ipsa regni Urbe commorati essent, sese a longi itineris tum terrestris tum maritimi tedio atque incommodis susceptis reficientes, Regia majestas Palatio suo Grenwici existens ecclesiasticis ac secularibus sui regni dominis, proceribus, equitibus, scutiferis, et nobilibus ad Regale suum obsequium convocatis ac dispositis ditissime apparatis, cum aureis, videlicet, sericeisque omnifarium vestimentis, torquibus item aureis innumeris, ipsos Oratores a dicto domino Senescallo

[*Here the English text is lost.*]

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[a] The mayor this year was Sir Stephen Jennings, merchant taylor.

[b] William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

[c] The sheriffs this year were Thomas Exmewe and Richard Smith.

atque aliis primoribus regni dominis acciri associarique, et in sue majestatis conspectum adduci jussit, per flumen Thamesim cum magna quadam ac decora sumptuosaque regia cymba tunc nuper fabricata, atque pro illis advehendis constituta et apparata. Quod si enarrem fastigiosum illum ac ditissimum tanti regis et sue regie domus apparatum, simul et honorificentissimum ordinem ad ipsos Oratores denuo suscipiendos constitutum, difficile namque mihi esset admodum et nimis prolixum. Nichilo tamen minus, quanto brevius et magis compendiose potero aliquam ejus rei partem hic inferius perstringam.

Primo namque Oratores ipsi, ut primum in regiam introissent, per inferioris aule medium non invenustis auleis apparate ducti sunt, Regiis magistratibus et ministris seriatim dextra levaque constitutis; illincque primum in amenissimam porticum, quam *galeriam* vulgo numcupamus, non multo antea ab ipso rege erectam. Mox in magnum cubiculum regium sunt introducti; ubi milites Regie Custodie[a] quam plurimi affuere sumtuoso ac decenti apparatu amicti, breviori, videlicet quisque chlamide auro et argento intexta, aureoque panno, veluto et sericeis cujusvis coloris adornata. Post hec in aliud anterius cubiculum penetrarunt, quo Capitaneus regie Custodie plurimis equitibus scutiferis ac nobilibus secum astantibus aderat atque una cum iis puerorum Regii status magister, necnon et ipsi pueri, quos nostri *pagios*, Galli vero *Infantes honoris* vocant, cerulei veluti chlamidulis induti, rubeis magnis rosis ac liliis densissimo auro intextis. Hic Oratores aliquantulam moram fecere, frigus quod e flumine Thamesi contraxerant igneo secus caminos calore pellentes.

Cum itaque rex interea temporis in suo cenaculo sub sui status aureo tentorio maneret, Serenissimi Regis Aragonum Oratorem[b]

[*Here the English text is lost.*]

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[a] The Knights of the Royal Body, called frequently *milites pro corpore Regis.*

[b] Rodrigo de Puebla, LL.D.

penes se a dextro latere habens, pauloque inferius ab eodem latere non parvum dominorum spiritualium, archiepiscoporum et episcoporum numerum, atque a leva manu Illustrissimum Wallie principem,[a] Cornubie ducem, ac Cestrie comitem, filium suum charissimum, una cum dominis secularibus, Ducibus et Comitibus, aliquanto inferius ab eodem latere stantibus; insuper cenaculum ipsum quantumvis latum et dimensum ingenti procerum, Dominorum, Equitum et Consiliariorum regiorum numero repletum esset; jussit Oratores predictos in suum conspectum adduci. Quibus adductis, post humilem ac debitam eorum obedientiam prestitam atque in reddendis Cesaree Majestatis litteris singularem commendationem factam. Rex nobilissimus atque omnium regum prestantissimus divinam potius quam humanam pre se ferens majestatem ac veram regie dignitatis excellentiam, humanissimis gratiosissimisque illos suscepit verbis, dicens eos bene et feliciter ad sese et suum regnum adventasse. Quo facto Oratores ad sedilia illis assignata paulum retrocessere.

Here occurs a whole page illustration, representing the King on his throne, and the President of Flanders, whose back is turned to the spectator, directly opposite to him, in the act of addressing him, the lords on either side being seated.

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[a] Henry Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry VIII.

Rege sub suo aureo tentorio sedente, Oratoreque regis Aragonum ac spiritualibus dominis a dextro cornu, ut dictum est, in declivi loco, atque Illustrissimo principe genito regio predicto aliisque secularibus dominis eque ac pari modo a sinistra manu, item et Oratoribus predictis ex Regis adverso consedentibus, tum presidens Flandrie Latinam concionem propalam habuit, adventus suorum collegarum et suiipsius causam, vimque legationis ostendens; Cujus quidem tenor ac sensus hic fuit: quod scilicet pro extrema manu imponenda iis omnibus que jampridem in oppido Calisie super amicicia et matrimonio predictis transacta et conclusa fuissent, ad serenissimum Anglie Regem venissent a Cesarea majestate destinati. Cui quidem concioni Reverendissimus Dominus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis,[a] Anglie Cancellarius, Rege mandante, dignum atque honorificum dedit responsum.

Cum itaque hec sic acta essent Serenissimus Rex Oratores ad se

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And thus, the kinges highnes beyng under his clothe of estate, the Ambassadoure of Aragon and the lordes spirituell syttynge on his right hande downewarde, and my lorde the Prynce with other Lordes temporall syttynge in like wyse on the lefte hande, and the sayd Ambassadours syttynge also directely before his grace, the president of Flaundres purposed a proposicion contaignynge the cause of their commynge; which was for the parfect accomplissement of all thynges passed and concluded for the sayde amitie and Mariage at the towne of Calays.

To which proposicion Tharchebysshop of Caunterbury chaunceller of Englonde by the kynges commaundement made a good and honourable answere.

This doon the kynges grace called the Ambassadours unto hym, accivit et illos est allocutus cum tanta verborum majestate, gravitate et facundia, ut Orator insignis atque excellens a cunctis audientibus judicatus sit et immensam sui admirationem atque incredibile gaudium omnibus qui aderant reliquerit.

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[a] William Warham.

Qui cum finem dicendi fecisset, urbano supra modum vultu ac regio gestu Oratores ipsos in penetralius suum et magis secretum cubiculum secum adduxit: Ubi de magnis ac secretis non parvi ponderis rebus, diu invicem sunt collocuti.

Que cum acta essent Oratores, prima illa habita audientia, Serenissimo Regi pro eo die vale facientes, Londonias sunt reversi a dominis supra recitatis honorifice reducti.

Sequenti vero luce Reverendissimi Domini, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis[a] et Episcopus Wyntoniensis,[b] Comes Harundellie,[c] compluresque alii magni domini et consiliarii regii, Rege jubente, eosdem Oratores visitarunt, ut commissionem auctoritatemque quam a suis principibus haberent, simul et scripta que secum attulissent pro perfectione singulorum tractatuum et conclusionum

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and famylierly entred communycacion with them upon many and goodly devyses, bryngynge theym into his Inner chambre, where after they had longe contynued and talked of and upon many great and weyghty matiers they departed for that tyme to London accompanyed with the lordes and others before wrytten.

The daye folowynge Tharchebysshoppe of Caunterbury, the Bysshop of Wynchestre, Therll of Arundell, with dyverse and many great lordes and other of the kynges counsayll by the kynges commaundement reasorted to y^e^ sayd Ambassadours to se and examyne suche commyssions and wrytynges as they had brought with them for thaccomplisshement of all and synguler suche treaties and conclusions perantea in oppido Calisie habitorum diligenter viderent et examinarent.

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[a] William Warham.

[b] Richard Fox.

[c] Thomas Fitz-Alan, 16th Earl of Arundel.

Que sane omnia scripta postquam visa et lecta essent, graviterque et mature, ut in tanta re conveniebat, examinata, adeo perfecta plena et integra atque effectualiter confecta reperta sunt pro dictorum amicitie et matrimonii corroboratione, ut perfectiora pleniorave aut integriora vel magis efficacia esse nullo modo possent.

Quoniam in iis primum contineretur Acceptatio et confirmatio Cesaree majestatis suo nomine pro dicta amicicia tantopere lata et ampla quantopere excogitari queat, sua sub manuali signatura et magno sigillo.

Deinde Confirmatio ejusdem Cesaree majestatis tanquam tutoris protectorisque et defensoris illustrissimi Karoli principis Castelle prenominati, insimul vigorose juncta et per ipsos Imperatorem ac principem facta sub eorumdem manualibus signaturis et sigillis.

Peramplius inter ea scripta certe obligationes et pene ipsorum Imperatoris et principis conjunctim ac divisim separatimque in

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as were taken at the sayde towne of Calays; whiche wrytynges by good deliberation well and substantially seen, the same were founde as perfyte and effectuell as coude be devysed to be. So that for the corroboracion of y^e^ sayd amytie and mariage there can not by mannes reason more be desyred to be had.

For there is first Themperours acceptacion and confirmacion by hymselfe of y^e^ said amytie, which is as large as can be thought, under his signe and seale.

There is also a confirmacion for the sayd Emperoure as tutor and manborne of the said yonge Prynce joynctely togydre, substancially made by the sayde Emperoure and prynce with their signe manuellis and seales.

There be also obligacions and bandes of the sayd Emperoure and solidum fuerant apposite, sese ac suos heredes, terras et subditos in magna pecuniarum summa obligantium, quam quidem summam et pecuniariam penam sint forisfacturi casu quo istud matrimonium inter Illustrissimum principem Karolum predictum et serenissimi Regis filiam predictam suum non sortiatur effectum.

Ad hec eidem Illustrissime principi regie filie in patria ejusdem Illustrissimi domini principis honorifica dos est assignata, in terris videlicet et prediis ac dominiis quorum ipse princeps ad presens est pacificus possessor, atque etiam in aliis terris fundis et dominiis que illi imposterum accrescere vel quovismodo obvenire poterunt, longe largior et amplior quam aliqua Burgundie ducissa antea unquam fuerit assecuta.

Pro qua nempe dote sufficiens et idonea cautio ac fidejussio est prestita; atque ex super habundanti terre et subditi ejusdem illustrissimi Principis Karoli de auctoritate et consensu sacratissimi Imperatoris in consimiles penas obligantur.

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yonge prynce, aswell joynctely as a parte and severally, byndyng themself, theyr heyres, landes and subgiettes, under right great sommes of money for penalties whiche they shall forfayte in caas this mariage betwixt y^e^ yonge prynce and the kynges doughter take not effect.

There is also an honourable dower assigned to the kynges sayd doughter in the sayd yonge Prynces landes that he is nowe possessed of and that shall in any maner wyse discende unto hym herafter, largelyer thenne ever had any duchesse of Borgoyne, and good assuraunce made for the same.

The landes countrayes and subgettes of the sayd yonge Prynce by the Emperours auctorite and assent be also bounden in lyke penalties.

Qua in re illustrissima quoque domina Margareta ducissa Sabaudie relicta, pro sua parte, eodem modo sub magnis penis est obligata.

Postremo, magnus dominorum vulgariumque populorum sub obedientia dicti principis Karoli existentium numerus pari modo in similes penas sub eorum manualibus subscriptionibus et sigillis obligatur.

Consimilique et pari modo pro dictarum rerum omnium complemento ex parte dicti domini Regis atque etiam pro perfectione matrimonii et dotis solutione a sua majestate dicte sue filie assignate et concesse pro suo connubio, que larga admodum et honorifica est, obligationes et securitates prestite sunt in eadem forma et tenore ac consimilibus penis.

Quare ex premissis constat hanc confederationem et affinitatem tanta cum maturitate, circumspectione et consilio stabilitam ac firmatam esse, et utrinque indissolubili nodo connexam, ut, nisi morte alterius horum duorum principum (quod Deus avertat) contingente,

The duchesse of Sauoye is also bounde in lyke wyse undre a greate penaltie for hyr parte.

And over that a great nombre of the lordes and townes under thobeissaunce of the sayd yonge Prince be semblably bounden in lyke penalties under theyr signes and seales.

And for thaccomplisshement of all the sayde matiers on the kynges partie, as well for the perfeccion of the Mariage as the payment of the dote to be yeven by his grace with his sayd doughter for hir mariage, whiche is right large and honourable, lyke bandes and suerties be made under semblable penalties.

By the premysses it is manyfeste and openne that this aliaunce and affinite is by so great afore sight and deliberacion suerly establisshed and knytte on both parties that it can not be dissolved or broken oonles it be by dethe of any of the bothe parties contrahent. Whiche neque dissolvi neque infringi quovismodo possit aut valeat. Quod si mors etiam supervenerit, nihilominus amicitia et confederatio in sua plena virtute et robore permaneret.

Certissimum est autem absque ulla prorsus hesitatione quod nunquam antea aliqua amicitia confederatiove inter aliquos alios principes inita est et conclusa, meliore animo et magis sincera mente, absque ullo fraudis seu doli vel simulationis aut interveniente, quam hec ipsa una, que inter sacratissimum Romanorum Imperatorem et serenissimum Anglie ac Francie Regem ad presens est inita et conclusa. Que haud dubie hoc tempore est nobilior confederatio, simul et grandius matrimonium quod in tota re publica Christiana existat: attentis presertim consideratisque tot regnis, patriis et regionibus quas dictus Illustrissimus princeps Karolus vero et justo titulo sibi debitas, vita comite, faventeque Altissimo, est recepturus hereditarias. Qua ex re qualis quantusve honos potestas et fortitudo dictis Imperatori, Regi et Principi atque eorum patriis, dominiis et subjectis obveniet, habentibus ex hujusmodi confederatione Ger-

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God defende. Howe be it thamitie neuertheles shal stande in full strength and vigour.

And it is of trouth and undoubted that there was never amytie or aliaunce hertofore made aud concluded betwixt any Prynces with better wyll and mynde, without coloure or dissymulacion, then this that nowe is taken betwixt the sayde Emperour and the kynges hyghnes, whiche at this daye is the most noble aliaunce and gretest Mariage of all Christendome., consideryng the sundry and manyfolde Regions and Countrayes that the sayde yonge Prynce by right nyghe possibilite, if God sende hym lyf, shal enherite. And what honour, strengthe and commoditie shal ensue unto the sayde Emperour the kynges highnes and the yonge Prynce, theyr landes, countrayes and subgettes havynge by this aliaunce Almayne, Englonde, Castile,

maniam, Angliam, Castellam, Legionem, Granatam ac omnes inferiores Flandrie partes sibi adjunctas et innodatas, non facile judicari potest, ob multos egregios ac notabiles effectus exinde secuturos, tam ad honorem, commodum et securitatem utriusque partis quam etiam confederatorum et alligatorum suorum, necnon et eorundem regnorum, patriarum ac subditorum.

Hoc igitur pacto serenissimus Rex Anglie Henricus Septimus, pro sua celesti et incomparabili sapientia ac providentia, binas suas filias duobus maximis principibus sibi vicinis ac propinquis matrimonio locavit; Regi videlicet Scocie Illustrissimo alteram natu grandiorem,[a] et clarissimo principi Castelle Archiduci Austrie aliam. Quo fit ut hoc Anglie regnum cum eisdem principibus et eorum regnis dominiis ac patriis tute ac secure magnoque cum honore ac dignitate et auctoritate versetur.

Postea vero quam ea scripta perfecte ac legittime confecta reperta sunt atque hinc inde vicissim tradita et accepta, illico Rex ad castellum suum de Richmonte[b] pro sponsalibus et matrimonio inter prefatos illustrissimos Castelle principes Karolum et Mariam contrahendis et celebrandis movit; ad quem locum dicti Oratores

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Lyons, Granate, and all these lowe Countrayes knytte and joyned togydres, it can not lightly be estemed; for many great and notable effectes maye and shall undoubtedly ensue thereby, aswel to the honour, weale and suertie of both parties, theyr confederates and alies, as also to their Reames, countrayes and subgettes.

[*Here occurs another gap in the English text.*]

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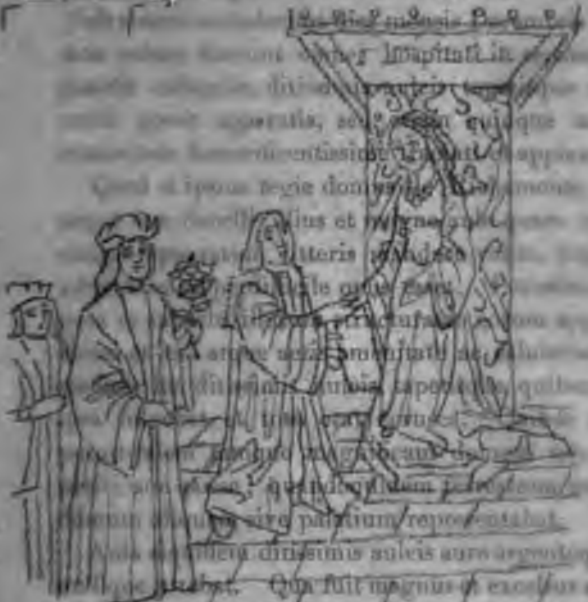
[a] Margaret married to James IV. of Scotland.

[b] The old palace at Sheen, as the place was then called, was burned down on the 21st December, 1497. It had since been rebuilt in most sumptuous fashion, and called by Henry Richmond from the title which he bore before he was King. The locality, it is needless to say, is known by that name still.

[illegible] Regiis dominis ac nobilibus [illegible] noti [illegible] nominati]. Ubi [illegible] et dis- [illegible] quam [illegible] apparatu, [illegible] quisque [illegible] spacio [illegible] fuere.

Quod si ipsum regie domus [illegible] ornatum [illegible] et [illegible] literis [illegible] domus [illegible] judicari [illegible] com- [illegible] quam [illegible] sive partium representabat.


Ihs. Mi. ... Maria ...
... hospitali in ...

[illegible] ditissimis auleis auro argentoque et serico contextis [illegible]. Qui fuit magnus et excelsus [illegible] vasis argenteis [illegible], ferme a terra usque ad altissima laquearia erectus, mihi quidem et non facile estimabilis valoris aut precii; ubi diversi panni [illegible] aurei preciosi valde in altum [illegible] tendebantur.

Sacellum vero quo res divina celebratur pannis aureis ditissimis [illegible] parietes habuit. Altera autem Regium tot magnis [illegible]torum imaginibus, partim auro partim argento insurato fabricatis, quibus preciosorum lapidum et margaritarum [illegible] erat infixus [illegible] fuit ut non potuerint plures superimponi. Insuper omnia tam magna quam parva cubicula, non solum quibus Rex utitur, sed quibus defuncta Regina,* dum in humanis ageret, usa est, et tunc illustrissima princeps regia filia utebatur, exquisitissimis preciosis-

[*Here the English text is lost.*]

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beth of York, Queen of Henr [illegible] the [illegible] pluribus et magnis dominis ac nobilibus comitati fuerunt adducti (fuit autem sextadecima dies mensis Decembris supra nominati). Ubi non solum fuerunt omnes hospitati in separatis semotisque et disjunctis cubiculis, ditissimis auleis tapetisque et lectis supra quam credi possit apparatis, sed etiam quinque aut sex dierum spacio continuato honorificentissime tractati et applausi regio sumptu fuere.

Quod si ipsius regie domus de Richemonte decorem et ornatum atque tam Sacelli illius et magne aule quam cubiculorum preciosissimum apparatum litteris mandare velim, longum sane et mirum admodum ac perdifficile opus esset. Potissimum in recitanda pomposa et superba illorum structura ac eorum apparatu splendidissimo, simul et loci atque aeris amenitate ac salubritate, una cum artificiosissimis ac ditissimis auleis tapetisque quibus eo tempore domus ipsa fulgebat et tota erat corusca. Quibus rebus facile judicari potuit talem tamque magnificam domum toto terrarum orbe comperiri non posse; quandoquidem terrestrem magis paradisum quam domum aliquam sive palatium representabat.

Aula siquidem ditissimis auleis auro argentoque et serico contextis undique nitebat. Qua fuit magnus et excelsus abacus vasis argenteis inauratis onustus, ferme a terra usque ad altissima laquearia erectus, miri quidem et non facile estimabilis valoris aut precii; ubi diversi panni status aurei preciosi valde in altum erecti tendebantur.

Sacellum vero quo res divina celebratur pannis aureis ditissimis opertos parietes habuit. Altare autem Regium tot magnis sanctorum imaginibus, partim auro partim argento inaurato fabricatis, quibus preciosorum lapidum et margaritarum immensus numerus erat infixus opertum fuit ut non potuerint plures superimponi. Insuper omnia tam magna quam parva cubicula, non solum quibus Rex utitur, sed quibus defuncta Regina,[a] dum in humanis ageret, usa est, et tunc illustrissima princeps regia filia utebatur, exquisitissimis preciosis-

[*Here the English text is lost.*]

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[a] Elizabeth of York, Queen of Henry VII., died on the 11th February, 1503.

simisque auleis auro et serico intextis fuerunt apparata cum pannis statuum aureis accomodatissimis.

Ad hec duo ampla cubicula in proprio Regis diversorio fuere preciosis mirum in modum et supra omnem fidem pannis aureis parietes opertos habentia cum ditioribus et magis preciosis lectis quam usquam visi fuerunt auro margaritis et carioribus gemmis consutis. Sed ne longior fiam quam meum fuerat institutum, hoc pulcherrimum palatium absque aliquo alio pari palatio apparatum relinquo. Hoc unum tantum adjiciens: quod neque Cresi Lidorum regis gaza, neque Mide Phrygum opes, aut Tagi Pactolive seu Padi auree arene hujus tanti Regis opibus conferri queant. Sed jam redeo ad egregiam excellentium sponsaliorum et matrimonii solennitatem, que habita est die dominica proxima, qui sextus decimus[a] ejusdem mensis antedicti fuit dies. Quo die, post solis ortum, ubi Oratores precioso amictu induti magnum Illustrissime principis domine Marie Regie filie cubiculum, preciosissime, ut antea dictum est, ornatum, et innumeris dominis ac magni honoris matronis decentissime ornatis repletum, ingressi sunt: Tum Rex a suo cubiculo secus ipsam illustrissimam dominam posito movens, illuc cum suis primoribus dominis et Consiliariis ac aliis magnatibus concessit, ipsosque Oratores placidis et benignis verbis ad pauculum temporis detinuit, donec illustrissima princeps ejus filia, ab Illustrissima Principe Wallie, Regis Aragonum et Regine Hellisabet[b] nuper Castelle genita, aliisque nobilissimis et dignissimis matronis associata ad predictum cubiculum pervenisset.

Pro declaranda autem et litteris mandanda eximia tante principis forma modestia et gravitate quam pre se tulit ac aliis laudabilibus

[*Here the English text is lost.*]

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[a] This is an error, for the 16th December was Saturday in 1508. Of course the reading should have been *decimus septimus*. The 16th of the month has been already mentioned in the narrative (p. 17).

[b] Isabella the Catholic.

gestibus et modis tante principi pertinentibus eo tempore in illa compertis ac deprehensis, haud dubia non esset in mea potestate ullo sermone vel pagina comprehendere. Illud tamen non pretermittam quod ad formam venustatemque alterius cujusvis principis seu regine ea in etate tam tenera constitute (agebat namque circiter undecimum etatis annum) vel nulla vel rarissima admodum fieri posset comparatio. Sua namque regia humanitas et nobilis ac vere paterna quantum tenera etas patiebatur gravitas omnibus advenientibus exhibita; habitus insuper ac gestus et bonorum morum compositio tanta fuit ut libere affirmare possim tantas tamque egregias ac certe Regias virtutes apud aliquam aliam etiam provectiorem quamcumque principem aut dominam in his tam magnis mysteriis diutius exercitatam educatamve deprehendi nusquam posse.

Quicquid enim reverentie aut humilis subjectionis, simul et gravitatis ac continentie, suo serenissimo patri debebatur; et quicquid insuper humanitatis atque affabilitatis erat Oratoribus prestandum: id totum tanquam veterana et sapientissima princeps exhibuit.

His itaque cerimoniis sic peractis, illustrissima princeps filia Regia in altiorem locum honorifice pro illa suscipienda apparatum se recepit, ubi sola sub aureo tentorio stetit, predicta principe Wallie spacio multum inferiore permanente.

Here occurs a full page illustration representing the Princess under the gilded canopy giving her hand to lord Berghes on her right hand, the King and Prince Henry standing by. Catherine of Arragon, Princess of Wales, is on the left, and a number of spectators occupy the foreground.

Moxque aliquantula temporis intercapedine et silentio habitis, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis,[a] Angelie Cancellarius, elegantem ac floridam habuit orationem, non modo matrimonii dignitatem et illius commendationem, sed etiam sanguinis et prosapie utriusque partis quas inter id matrimonium esset celebrandum, necnon et utrarumque progenitorum excellentiam tangentem; multiplices denique bonos effectus qui exinde sequi possent, tam pro utraque parte et earum regnis patriis et subjectis quam etiam pro universe rei publice Christiane conservatione commodo et accremento.

Qua oratione finita presidens Flandrie, unus oratorum, partem ejus orationis habite reassumens, novam atque elegantem habuit orationem, laudes amicicie matrimoniique ac uberes multifariam fructus ex iis manantes: simul et immensa atque incredibilia bona ex hujusmodi nova confederatione et affinitate secutura commemorans.

Quibus sic actis, quoniam dominus de Bergis solus auctoritate fultus erat ad id matrimonium cum dicta illustrissima principe nomine prefati illustrissimi principis Karoli contrahendum, interrogatus est si quam secretiorem facultatem aut magis specialem ultra generalia cum suis collegis mandata haberet. Qui quidem dominus commissarius et procurator, sufficienti et plena auctoritate in hac parte suffultus suam commissionem et privatam procurationem palam exhibuit atque ostendit; que distincte et aperte lecta est; per quam sufficiens et ampla potestas atque auctoritas ad contrahendum dictum matrimonium validiori et magis efficaci quo fieri posset modo per Imperatorem ac principem predictos conjunctim ac divisim fuerat illi tradita.

Qua re cognita ac perspecta causavit rex ipsum dominum de Bergis una cum aliis oratoribus ad cathedram status qua illustrissima princeps manebat appropinquare pro dictorum sponsaliorum et matrimonii celebratione ac perfectione fienda: ubi dominus ipse de

[*Here the English text is lost.*]

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[a] William Warham.

Bergis, post debitas reverentias, humiliori quo fieri protuit ac debuit modo et forma exhibitas, ostensamque maximam affectionem et commendationem illustrissimi principis Castelle erga illam, accipiens ipsam illustrissimam dominam per manus, recitansque auctoritatem sibi ad contrahendum cum illa matrimonium nomine dicti illustrissimi principis Karoli concessam, legit juxta informationem predicti presidentis verba perfectum et legittimum matrimonium per verba de presenti contrahentia. Que quidem verba perantea in scriptis posita fuerant atque effectualiter previsa et premeditata, tuncque per eundem Dominum de Bergis prolata et ostensa, prout presidens ipse ea sibi de verbo ad verbum legit.

Post hec vero utraque manus dextra, tam Illustrissime principis domine Marie filie regie quam ipsius domini de Bergis, invicem juncta est et inde disjuncta, veluti in tali contractu moris est et fieri consuevit. Illustrissima siquidem princeps tenens dictum dominum de Bergis per dexteram manum maxima cum prudentia et regali continentia absque ulla prorsus sibi matrimonialia verba

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And after due reverence in moost humble maner shewed and doon by the sayde Lord Bar[ges] with moost effectuous recommendacio[n m]ade on the behalf of the Prynce of Castile, he then, takynge my sayd lady by the hande, and eftsones declaryng thauctorite yeven unto hym to contracte matrimony with hir for and in the name of the sayde yonge Prynce, rehersed and uttred at the informacion of the sayd presydent the wordes of parfect matrymonye per verba de presenti whiche were before substancially devysed, put in writyng and by the sayd lorde Barges then spoken and uttred, lyke as the said president redde theym unto hym.

And that doon, the handes withdrawen and dysclosed as the maner is, the Kynges sayde doughter, eftsones takyng the sayd lord Barges by the hande, with moost sadde and pryncely countenaunce, havynge noo maner of persone to reherse the wordes of matrymonye recitante; perfecte pro sua parte ac distincte ipsa verba lingua Gallica longo intervallo protulit.

Que quidem verba ratione commissionis dicto domino de Bergis facte fuerant admodum prolixa: nihilo tamen minus ab ipsa Domina absque ulla prorsus animi perturbatione morave aut interruptione sunt prolata.

Que res sane complures diversosque nobiles et alios astantes atque audientes non solum mirari et obstupescere sed etiam pre nimio gaudio et cordis dulcedine in lachrimas ferme coegit irrumpere.

Postea vero quam ea verba pronunciata sunt, prefatus dominus de Bergis, illustrissimi principis Karoli predicti procurator, pro corroboratione ac confirmatione dicti contractus, non modo scriptis omnibus superinde confectis verba matrimonii continentibus per ipsum tunc ostensis se subscripsit, prout ipsa quoque illustrissima domina Maria pro sua parte fecit, Sed etiam omni cum reverentia dictam dominam est exosculatus, atque uni illius digito aureum

to hir utterd, spake parfittely and distinctely in the frensche tonge by a longe circunstaunce the wordes of matrimonye for hir partie, whiche by reason of the rehersall of his commission were veraye longe. Howe be it she spake the same without any basshing of countenaunce, stoppe or interrupcion therin in any behalf; whiche thyng caused dyverse and many, as wel nobles as other, then beynge present and herynge the same, not oonly to mervayle but also in suche wyse to rejoyse that for extreme cont[en]te and gladnes the terys passed out of theyr ies.

After the prolacion and utterance of whiche wordes y^{e} sayd lord Barges, as procuratour to the sayd yonge Prynce, for corroboracion and confirmacion of the sayde contract, not oonly subscribed the wrytyng conteignynge the wordes of matrymonye by hym then uttred, lyke as my forsayed ladye dyde also for her partie, but also

annulum imposuit: proque dicti contractus sic celebrati testimonio tabelliones duo interfuere ab utraque parte requisiti, ut de ea re publica conficerent instrumenta: Omnesque domini ac domine et nobiles premissa intuentes et audientes tunc ibidem instanter sunt requisiti, quatenus de iis que in eorum presentia essent acta testes essent et apud omnes omni tempore verum perhiberent testimonium. Mox tube ad classicum clangentes et innumera cujusque generis musica instrumenta increpuerunt, suosque ad longum temporis spacium sonitus dederunt, tante rei geste tantique triumphi gaudium et exultationem indicantes. Statimque Rex serenissimus Dominum de Bergis, Commissarium predictum, Cesaree legationis caput, per dextrum cubitum apprehendens, ceteris oratoribus magno atque honorifico dominorum cetu associatis preeuntibus, ad suum sacellum perrexit, altam et solemnem missam auditurus que eo die ab episcopo Londoniarum [a] inibi esset celebranda.

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the sayd lorde in reverent maner kyssed the sayd ladye Marye and put a Ryng of golde on hir fynger, and in wyttenesse and testymonye of the sayd contract there were two notaries there beynge present, requyred on bothe parties to make instrumentes upon the same. And all the lordes ladyes and nobles heryng and seyng the premysses then and there were desyred to bere wyttenesse therunto.

This doon the Trumpettes and other Instrumentes to a great nombre blewe and played by a good space upon theyr Instrumentes in rejoysynge this noble Acte and triumphe.

Then immediatly the Kynges grace takyng the Lorde Bargis, beynge pryncypall of Thambassadours by the arme, all the other Ambassadours accompanyed with many great Lordes and nobles goynge before his grace, passed and resorted unto his closet to here the hyghe and solempne Masse that daye sayd by the Bysshop of London [a] in his Chapell.

[a] Richard Fitzjames.

Cumque in suum tentorium ex purissimo panno aureo confectum se recepisset, ubi rem divinam audire assolet, Oratores in proximum contiguumque majus sacellum sunt adducti, in quo pro illis suscipiendis locus status locupletissime fuerat apparatus.

Ut vero majori misse finis est datus et psalmus *Te Deum laudamus* cum cantus jubilatione et veneratione decantatus, Oratores in aliud sacellum quo Regem reliquerant reducti sunt; Ubi rex modo ac forma supradictis prefatum dominum de Bergis secum assumens, aliis ut dictum est Oratoribus anteeuntibus, ad suum unde fuerat egressus cubiculum retroversus est, immensa Dominorum Equitum Scutiferorumque et aliorum nobilium ditissime apparatorum precedente sequenteve caterva.

Quo die Rex voluit eundem dominum de Bergis, necnon et gubernatorem Brissie secum epulari. Reliqui autem oratores ad aliud proximum contiguumque cenaculum diverterunt; ubi hono-

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And when the Kinges grace was entred into his travers, which was of pure and fyne cloth of golde, the sayd Ambassadours were brought in to the Chapell, where was a place richely appoynted and ordeigned for theym.

And after the hyghe Masse was doon, and *Te Deum laudamus* with great rejoysyng songe, the sayd Ambassadours were eftsones broughte into the kynges closet. Where the kynges highnes in fourme and maner as before is sayd toke yᵉ sayd Lorde Barges by the arme. And all the other Ambassadours, goynge before his grace, went and entred into his Chambre, accompanyed with a right great nombre of Lordes, Knightes, squyres, and other nobles richely appoynted.

That daye the kynges highnes caused the lorde Barges and the Governoure of Bresse to dyne with hym at his owne table, thother Ambassadours departyng to another chambre next adjoynynge, where

rificum pro illis prandium fuerat provisum. Quibuscum diversi tum spirituales tum temporales regni Anglie domini commessati sunt. Missa faciam in presentiarum adhibitam servicia, solemnitates ordinesque, lautas insuper atque exquisitas dapes: simul et varia ac preciosa vinorum genera, necnon et auream argenteamque inauratam supellectilem, qua regie majestati atque oratoribus eo die est ministratum. Certissimum est autem nullum craterem calicemve aut ciatum vel urceum sive salinum vel gutturnium, nullamque aliam supellectilem iis mensis fuisse appositam que non vel[a] ex perfectissimo auro denso ac lato margaritis preciosisque gemmis ornato, aut saltem ex argento tam dense inaurato esset fabricata ut integrum purumque aurum appareret.

Finito autem tam regali et sumptuoso prandio atque amotis mensis, affuerunt illico diversi domini ac strenui Equites armati ad torniamenta seu hastiludia in decus et ornamentum ac laudem ejus solemnitatis facienda parati. Cum quibus Rex una secum

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provysion was made for them in moost honourable maner, and there dyned, accompanyed with dyverse of the grettest Lordes sperituall and temporall of the Reame.

I shall not reherse what solempnitie and ordre in servyce, what delicate and sumptuous metes, what dyversytie of pleasaunt wynes, what plate of gold and silver gilted, the kynges grace had and was served with that daye. But this is certayne that there was no salte, cuppe or layer that that daye was set on the borde but it was of fyne glod,[b] great and large, preciously garnysshed with perles and stones, ne yet noo dische or sawcer but it was gilte and as bryght as golde.

The dyner fynisshed, there were dyvers grete Lordes and valiaunt knyghtes armed and preprayred[b] to just in y^e^ honoure of that feest; whiche to se the Kinges grace with the sayde Ambassadours

[a] *vel non* in orig.

[b] *Sic.*

Oratores ducens quo lancearum concursus et ipsos armatos invicem congredientes videret, in magnam atque egregiam ejus palatii porticum, quam *galeriam* vocant, superioribus annis miro ac sumptuoso opere a se edificatam se convertit. Ibi namque patentes fenestre plurime sunt ex adverso loci quo futurus erat concursus ad tutissimum apertissimumque spectaculum accommodate. Erat autem ipsa porticus auleis tapetibusque decenter ornata, tot preterea musicis et variis ludorum instrumentis fertilis et copiosa, ut nulla ferme honesta voluptas quam quisquam optaret ibi deesset. In quem quidem locum prefata illustrissima domina Maria jam princeps Castelle, simul et illustrissima princeps Wallie, non parvo decentissimarum dominarum numero comitate, insimul spectandi gratia venerunt.

Interea milites ipsi, fortibus equis armisque et ceteris rebus ad militarem disciplinam pertinentibus abunde affluenterque et preciose provisi, tentoriis videlicet, phaleris equorum, lanceis et omnifariam bellicis instrumentis ac quibuscunque ad ipsa torniamenta conducentibus ornamentis, apparatibus insuper multis aurifabrorum artificio fabricatis, panno identidem aureo sericeoque et campanis ac nolis argenteis atque aliis multimodis preciosis et novis rebus, quas nimis longum esset recitare, ad ineundum inter sese certamen presto erant.

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reasorted to his galarye, beynge richely hanged and appoynted ; and whyther also came my saide lady Marye Pryncesse of Castile and the Pryncesse of Wales, accompanyed with a goodly nombre of fayre Ladyes. Howe well horsed and harneissed, howe richly appoynted were the said lordes and knyghtes, with pavylyons, trappers, bardes, and other ornamentes and appareyll of goldsmyth werke, clothe of golde, silke and other ryche garnyssynge, and with belles of silver and many diverse devises, it were to longe a processe to wryte. For by the space of thre dayes these justis con-

Stabat etenim e regione loci quo congressus ille futurus erat circiter medium locus prominens et editus in faciem lati et oblongi pulpiti, tabularum structura erectus, super quo heraldi regii splendido apparatu et amictu decori, una cum regiis tubicinibus consedebant ut bellatorum ictus annotarent et eorum qualitatem tubis (ut moris est) clangentibus indicarent conscriberentque.

Ceptum est igitur inter ipsos belligeros atrox prelium, quod absque ulla intermissione, quantum lux diurna post meridiem passa est, continuis tribus diebus fuit continuatum : quolibet eorum armatorum singulo quoque die durante eo triduo cum recentiore splendidioreque ac sumptuoso magis apparatu in campum prodeunte.

Aderat ingens utriusque sexus tam nobilium quam popularium multitudo, que videndi gratia illuc confluxerat : et que fractarum lancearum fragore audito ac tubarum clangore fignum dante intellecto immensos ad celum clamores mittebat et modo uni modo alteri armato prout sua cujusque in eorum aliquem major inerat devotio majores favores voce prestabat. Pulchrum autem erat in tanto certamine innumeras lanceas armis collisas atque hinc inde confractas videre : et earum frusta in altissima usque aera sepenumero conscendere.

Eadem die dominica civitas omnis Londoniarum invicem gaudens

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tynued, and day by day every lorde and knyght had dyversite and chaunge of appareilles every day richer than other.

And finally on the last day was also a goodly torneye, and certaynly all the sayd lordes, knyghtes and men of armes acquited theymself soo valiauntly as well in justes as tourney that they atteigned and had mervaylous great prayse, both of strayngiers and others.

The sayde sondaye nyght also in rejoysynge this feest and his tam celeberrimis et memorandis triumphis ad omnia festivitatis et leticie signa se convertit: nocturnos ignes pyrasque et lignorum altas congeries succensas exigens : Organis, tympanis, lyris, citharisque et crotalis ac musicis quibusque instrumentis undique personantibus; innuptis virginibus ac nuptis, pueris juvenibus et grandevis largos ignes circumeuntibus, choreasque sonoro ac jubilo cantu admixtas ducentibus, dulci mero et saccaro conditis aromaticis nonnunquam se reficientibus, donec nox intempesta ad quietem somnumque cunctos invitaret.

Cum autem tertius dies torniamentorum adventasset et lancearum incursui primum data esset opera non sine pari aut non multum absimili omnium certantium laude et gloria, tandem lanceati ipsi lanceis despositis, fortibusque in earum locum gladiis assumptis, fortiter ac strenue insimul dimicantes, tantum de sese experimentum fecerunt ut non minorem in eo genere pugne quam in priore hastarum certamine laudem apud omnes astantes sint consecuti, et tam curialium quam advenarum et exterorum omnium judicio magnopere fuerint commendati. Nullus etenim gladius, quantumvis forti et sincero metallo fabricatus, in ea gladiatoria pugna extitit, qui vel non in partes confringeretur vel prorsus recurvus aut con-

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triumphe fyres were made in diverse and many places through the cytie of London with other demonstracions and signes of joye and gladnesse.

Thus with dyverse and many other goodly sportes passed the tyme by the day, and at night sumptuous bankettes were made. Where at some tyme the kynges grace havynge the sayd Ambassadours with hym accompanyed with a goodly nombre of ladyes were present. And at oon of y^e^ whiche Bankettes the sayde Ambassadours delyvered thre goodly and right riche tokens and Juelles to my sayd ladye Marye, oon frome Themperoure conteignynge an orient rubye and a large and a fayre diamonde garnysshed with

tusus vel inutilis maneret: Sicque his et aliis ludis jocisque et honestissimis voluptatibus, utpote ferocium equorum taurorumve indomitorum atque ursorum cum ingenti mordacissimorum canum numero certantium, dies illi jucundidatis et leticie peracti sunt. Prius namque et aucupiis et venatibus cervorum damarumque in utroque vivario regio quod ipsi regie domui adjacet non parvam animi voluptatem oratores ipsi susceperant: Quorum quidem vivariorum, quos parcos vulgus appellat, alterum innumeris mire magnitudinis cervis, aliud vero damis, quarum nonnulle toto prorsus corpore candent spectaculum de se prebentes est repletum.

Postquam autem nox tertie diei supervenisset sumptuose admodum private cene parate sunt, ad quas Rex nobilissimus atque omnium regum sapientissimus et humanissimus Oratores ipsos magnumque cum his delectarum matronarum numerum secum adduxit; cepitque primus conscedere,[a] deinde alios omnis ad consessum invitare.

Quibus concessis[b] Oratores in quadam e pluribus mensa tria pulcherrima ac preciosissima dona illico prefate Illustrissime principi domine Marie dono dedere; quorum unum ab sacratissimo Romanorum imperatore Maximiliano missum erat, rubeus scilicet lapis Indicus qui a nostris *rubinus* dicitur. Magnus siquidem et preciosus simul et adamas magnis unionibus munitus.

Aliud vero ab illustrissimo principe Karolo destinatum littera K. aurea fuit, nomen Karoli representans, preciosis adamantibus et margaritis munitum: Quo quidem monili hec verba inscripta fuere, videlicet, *Maria optimam partem elegit, que non auferetur ab ea.*

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great perles, y^e other from the yonge Prynce, which was a K. for Karolus, garnysshed with diamondes and perles, wherin these wordes were written: *Maria optimam patrem*[c] *elegit, que non auferetur ab ea,*

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[a] *Sic*, for *considere.* [b] *Sic*, for *consessis.* [c] *Sic.*

Tertium autem ab illustrissima principe domina Margareta Ducissa Sabaudie relicta fuerat profectum, Balagius scilicet, quem *balasion* vulgus nominat, preciosis margaritis circumdatus.

His igitur cenis, tam lautis tamque opiparis ut nihil omnino egregium quod vel terra vel freto aut flumine crescat illis abfuerit, non defuerunt ludi Maurei quas *morescas* dicunt, et saltantium juvenum generosa virensque propago, simul et comediarum tragediarumque hystrionica et ludicra queque spectacula previsa sane prius ac sumptuose preparata. Ea nocte dominus de Bergis[a] Cesaree majestatis et illustrissimi principis Karoli predicti, jam serenissimi Regis Anglie filii dilectissimi, instantissime petiit a Regia Majestate et illam requisivit quatenus placeret ei dictum principem Carolum suum filium nobilis Ordinis Garterii Equitem eligere ac creare. Quod Rex optimo animo atque ex corde concessit, providitque illico ut ipse princeps suus filius non solum in unum sociorum equitum dicti Ordinis esset electus, sed etiam ut ipsa Gartera cum

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and y^e thirde from the duchesse of Savoye, wherein was a goodly balas garnysshed with perles. Att whiche banket there was no cuppe, salte ne layer but it was of fyne golde, ne yet noo plate of vessayll but it was gilte.

There lacked no disguysynges, moriskes nor entreludes made and appareilled in the beste and richest maner.

That nyght the lord Barges, on the behalfe and by the commaundement of Themperoure and the kynges good sone y^e yonge Prynce, made instant request and desyre that it wold please his grace to elect and make the sayd Prynce knyght of his noble ordre of the Gartier. Whereunto the Kynges grace with right herty wyll graunted. And not oonly hath caused hym to be electid as oon of the companyons and knyghtes of that ordre, but also entendeth

[a] Apparently the word *mandatu* has been omitted here.

omnibus ornamentis ad illam spectantibus brevi ad illum mitteretur.

Postremo, cum omnia negocia commissionem dictorum oratorum concernentia essent executioni mandata, quoniam dies Natalis Domini appropinquaret, Oratores ipsi, ad propria redire cupientes, a serenissimo Rege veniam abeundi supplices expostularunt.

Rex autem, quanquam magnopere cuperet eorum presentia diutius frui, et illos in dies magis ac magis sua munificentia et liberalitate confovere, ad illorum tamen precipuam instantiam et singularem requisitionem ipsos dimisit magnis ac preciosis muneribus argentee supellectilis, necnon et levibus equis, *Obinis* nuncupatis, falconibus canibusque et pluribus aliis non injucundis donis donatos.

Postea vero quam dicti oratores tanto Regi vale fecissent et honestissima hincinde gratulationis et intime amicicie signa essent ostensa, prefatus Illustrissimus princeps Karolus, post oratorum

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within brief tyme to sende unto the said Prince the Gartier with all other ornamentes belongynge to the sayde ordre.

And whan all matiers concernynge the commyssion of the sayd Ambassadours were accomplisshed, for asmoche as the feste of Cristmas approched, They desyred to take theyr leve of the kynges highnes to reatourned[a] to their countraye.

And albe it the kynges grace was greatly desyrous that they shuld have lenger taryed, yet at theyr instaunte poursuyte his grace despeched theym, and with mervaylous great and honourable giftes of goodly plate rewarded theym, besydes horses, hobies, hawkes, houndes, and many other goodly pleasures.

And for further confirmacion and approvyng of y^e^ foresayd mariage, the sayd yonge prince sythens the departyng of his Ambassadours hathe sente dyverse letters subscribed with his owne

[a] *Sic.*

suorum legationem solutam, pro ampliore confirmatione et approbatione dicti Matrimonii sepe ac sepius suas litteras propria sua manu subscriptas, tam ad Serenissimum Regem, nominando et acceptando illum in suum bonum patrem, et ad illustrissimum principem Henricum, filium regium, nominando et acceptando eum in suum amantissimum fratrem, quam etiam ad ipsam Illustrissimam dominam Mariam suam sponsam dedit, exprimans[a] ac nominans illam suam uxorem et consociam, cum aliis gratioribus atque amicabilioribus verbis quam vel scribi vel excogitari valeat.

Gaude ergo gaudio magno. Gaude, inquam, et letare, O felicissima hoc tempore Anglia, atque tuo nobilissimo victoriosissimoque et sapientissimo supremo Regi Henrico septimo da laudem, honorem et gratias sempiternas, quandoquidem pro sua innata prudentia, studio, ingenio, et providentia non solum in pace firma ac quiete, tranquillitate et justicia es posita, cum summa rerum omnium

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hande, aswell to the kynges highnes, namynge and acceptyng his grace for his good fader, and to my lorde the Prince, takyng and callyng hym his lovyng Brother, as also to my sayd lady Marye, expressely callyng hir his wyfe and compayn, with other as kynde and lovyng wordes as can be devysed to be written.

Rejoyse, Englande, and to thy mooste noble victorious and fortunate soverayne lorde and Kinge yeve honoure, prayse and thankes, by whoes hyghe wysedome, studie and provydence thou arte not oonly set and establysshed in justice, peace, rest and tranquilite with habundaunce of all commodities necessarye, but also thy honoure is in suche wyse nowe enhaunced and exalted that all Christen regions poursue unto the for aliaunce, confederacion and amytie. Thy florisshyng redde roses be so planted and spredde in the highest imperiall gardeyns and houses of power and honoure that by suche spectous[a] buddes and braunches as by Goddes grace shall proceed of them, all Christen regions shall herafter be unite and alied unto

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[a] *Sic.*

tibi necessariarum copia, fertilitate et affluentia, sed etiam tuum omne decus splendor et gloria in tantum attollitur et sublimatur ut Christiana omnis religio cupiat et optet firmo tibi amicicie et confederationis nexu ac vinculo adjungi.

Tue, siquidem, tue iste redolentes rubee rose hac tempestate adeo crevere, patuleque et prominentes facte sunt, suasque radices ad altissimos usque imperiales hortos ac domos potentie et honoris extenderunt ac propagarunt, ut ex earum gemmulis et palmitibus generalis totius rei publice Christiane Pax unio et confederatio Deo favente sit proventura. Ad quem quidem honoris cumulum et dignitatis apicem ante hac nusquam potuisti attingere: Hic est nempe tuus nobilissimus supremus dominus et Rex qui te ad tam sublimem glorie statum evexit, quem non modo colere venerarique et observare jure meritoque debes, atque illi fideliter libenterque servire, verum etiam pro felici diuturnoque illius statu incolumitate et continuo successu ac quotidiano incremento tuis devotis et continuis precibus teneris Altissimum deprecari.

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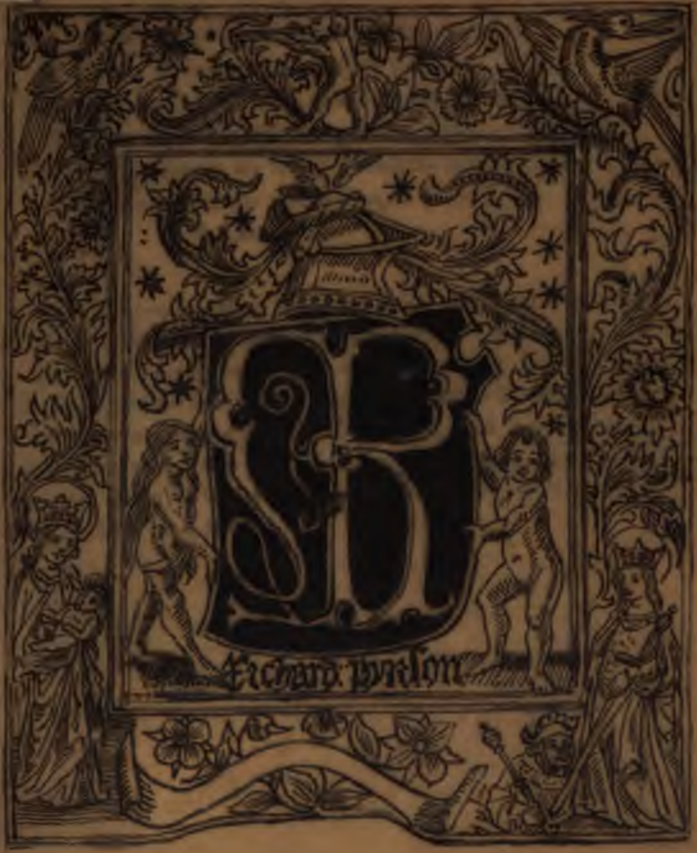
the, whiche honoure tyll now thou coudes never attaigne. This is thy noble soverayne lorde and Kyng that to so hyghe honoure hathe the avaunced. Whom thou hast cause not only to love and truely serve, but for whoes noble estate with longe and happye contynuaunce in prosperous helth thou arte specially bounde with devoute orisons contynuelly to praye.

Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the Sygne of the George by Richarde Pynson prynter unto the Kynges noble grace.

[Colophon, as in the Latin edition. See p. 35.]

Petri Carmeliani De illustrissimorum principum Castelle Karoli et Marie sponsalibus Carmen.

Festa dies fulget, cunctis mortalibus Evi :
Et solito Titan clarior orbe micat.
Vir bonus et prudens et quisquis pacis amator
Gaudeat, et supero det pia thura deo.
Anglica Burgunde domui domus inclyta clare
Sanguinis eterno federe juncta manet.
Ecce datur Karolo Maria speciosa puella,
Virtute insignis, moribus atque nitens.
Septimus Henricus, Rex inclytus, est pater illi,
Qui gemma est regum, precipuumque decus.
Regina Hellisabet mater, dum viveret, orbis
Inter reginas floruit absque pari.
Henricus frater princeps, cui nemo secundus,
Conspicuum toto fundit in orbe jubar.
Margareta soror Regi conjuncta potenti
Scotorum, sapiens, pulchra, venusta, decens.
Defunctos taceo fratres simul atque sorores,
Qui leti in celo regna beata tenent.
At Karolo genitor fuerat Rex ille Philippus,
Quem brevis (ah nimium!) substulit hora sibi.
Cesaris Augusti spes unica, filius unus,
Magnanimus, prestans, strenuus atque potens.
Sed Regina sibi est genitrix preclara Joanna,
Heres regnorum non dubitata trium.
Ipse tamen tanto princeps orbate parente
Rursus habes patrem, sorte favente novum,
Hic est Henricus, qui te et tua jura fovebit,
Hostibus imponens fortia frena tuis.


Richard pynson

INDEX.

Admiral of England. *See* Oxford, Earl of
Almayne. *See* Germany.
Arragon, Ferdinand King of, 18
———, ——— Ambassador of. *See* Puebla, Rodrigo de
Arundel, Thomas Fitzalan, 16th Earl of, 11
Austria, Archduke of. *See* Charles

Berghes, John lord of, chamberlain to the Emperor Maximilian, 3, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30
Berghes, John de, Seigneur de Walhain, son of the preceding, 5
Bevres, Adolphe de Bourgogne, seigneur de, 5
Borgoyne (Burgundy), 13
Brandon, Sir Thomas, K.G., 6
Bresse, governor of. *See* Gorrevod
Burgo, Andrea de, knight, of the Emperor's council, 4
Burgundy (Borgoyne), duchess of, 13
Burgundy, house of, 34

Calais, 5, 6, 10, 12
———, deputy of. *See* Talbot, Sir G.
Canterbury, 6
———, archbishop of. *See* Warham, W.
———, cathedral priory of Christchurch, 6
———, ———, prior of. *See* Goldstone, Thomas
———, St. Augustine's, abbot of, 6
——— mayor and aldermen of, 6

Carmelianus, Petrus. Henry VII.'s Latin secretary, his poems, 1, 34
Cassel, provost of. *See* Theimseke, George de
Castile, 16, 17
———, Prince of. *See* Charles
———, Princess of. *See* Mary, d. of Henry VII.
Catherine. *See* Katharine
Chamberlain of England. *See* Oxford, earl of
Chancellor, lord. *See* Warham, W.
Charles Prince of Castile, Archduke of Austria, 1, 2, 3, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 29, 30, 31, 34 ; embassy of, 2, 3, *et passim*
Chester, earl of. *See* Henry, Prince of Wales
Cornwall, duke of *See* Henry, Prince of Wales

Dartford, Kent, 6
Docwra, Sir Thomas, prior of the Knights of St. John at Clerkenwell, 6

Elizabeth of York, Queen of Henry VII., 17, 34
Ely, bishop of. *See* West, Dr. N.
England, 15, 16
Exmewe, Thomas, sheriff of London, 7

Ferdinand, King of Arragon, 18
Fitzjames, Ric., bishop of London, 23
Flanders, or Low Countries, 16
———, president of. *See* Sauvaige, Jean le

Fox, Richard, bishop of Winchester, 11
Fploneke. *See* Pflug

Garter, order of the, 30, 31
Germany (or Almayne), 15
Giglis, John de, bishop of Worcester, 6
Goldstone, Thomas, prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, 6
Gorrevod, Laurence de, governor of Bresse, 3, 24
Granada (Granate), 16
Greenwich, palace at, 7
————————, the gallery at, built by Henry VII., 8

Haneton, Philip, Maximilian's secretary and *audientiarius*, 4
Henry VII., 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 23, 25, 32, 34; his wealth, 18
Henry, prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, 9, 10, 32
" Hobies " (*obini*), light horses, 31

Isabella (Elizabeth), the Catholic, Queen of Castile, 18

James IV. of Scotland, 16
Jennings, Sir Stephen, mayor of London, 7
Joanna, Queen of Castile, mother of Prince Charles, 34
" Just " (to tourney), 25

Katharine of Arragon, princess of Wales (widow of Arthur, prince of Wales, and affianced to prince Henry), daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, 17, 18, 26

Leon (or Lyons), kingdom of, 16
London, 7, 11, 27, 29
———, mayor and aldermen of, 7
———, sheriffs of, 7
———, Fleet Street, sign of the George, 33
———, bishop of. *See* Fitzjames, Ric.
Low Countries. *See* Flanders
Lyons (Leon in Spain), kingdom of, 16

Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., married to James IV. of Scotland, 16
Margaret, duchess of Savoy, Regent of the Netherlands, 14, 30
Mary, daughter of Henry VII., 1, 2, 3, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31, 34; her deportment, beauty, and grace, 18, 19; called princess of Castile (after her proxy marriage), 26
Maximilian, the Emperor, 2, 10, 12, 15, 20, 29, 30; embassy of, 2, 3, *et passim*; his letters, 9
" Moriskes " (morris dances), 30

Obini. *See* " Hobies."
Oxford, John de Vere, thirteenth earl of, Great Chamberlain and Admiral of England, 7

Pflug, Sigismund, LL.D. [his name misprinted by Pynson " Splonke " and " Fploneke "] 4
Philip I. of Castile, father of Prince Charles, 34
Ponynges (or Poynings), Sir Edward, 6
Puebla, Rodrigo de, LL.D., Ambassador of Ferdinand, King of Arragon, 8
Pynson, Richard, printer to the king, 33, 35

Richmond, castle or palace of, 16, 17
————, gallery at, built by Henry VII., 26
Royal Body, knights of the, 8
—————, captain of the, 8

St John's, prior of. *See* Docwra, Sir Thomas
Sauvaige, Jean le, president of Flanders, 4, 10, 20, 21
Savoy, duchess of. *See* Margaret
Sheen (Richmond), palace at, 16 *note*
Shrewsbury, George Talbot, seventh earl of, steward of the king's household, 6, 7
Sittingbourne, in Kent, 6
Smith, Richard, sheriff of London, 7
Staple, merchants of the, 7
Steward (*senescallus*) of the king's household. *See* Shrewsbury, earl of

Talbot. *See* Shrewsbury
Talbot, Sir Gilbert, deputy of Calais, 5
Thames, the river, 8
Theimseke, George de, provost of Cassel, 4
Toison d'Or, king-at arms, 4
Tournaments, 25-29

Wales, prince of. *See* Henry
———, princess of. *See* Katharine
Walhain, John de Berghes, seigneur de, 5
Warham, William, archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor, 7, 10, 11, 20
West, Dr. Nicholas (afterwards bishop of Ely), 6
Winchester, bishop of. *See* Fox, Richard
Worcester, bishop of. *See* Giglis, John de

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A

COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL LETTERS

FROM

THE BISHOPS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL,

1564,

WITH RETURNS OF THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE AND OTHERS
WITHIN THEIR RESPECTIVE DIOCESES, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING
TO THEIR RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS.

EDITED BY

MARY BATESON.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.
MDCCCXCIII.

PREFACE.

In the calendar of the MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, Part I., p. 306 (No. 1024), will be found a brief summary of the contents of a MS. preserved at Hatfield House (pressmark, c. c. 5), which contains the replies sent by the archbishops and bishops to questions put to them by the Privy Council in a letter of October 17, 1564. This letter is not now known to be extant, but from the answers of the bishops it appears that they were asked to classify those who were already justices of the peace according as they were favourable, indifferent, or hostile to the proceedings of the Government in matters of religion, and also to name the persons who in their opinion were fit to be put into office and those who should be removed from office. To this end they were asked to consult those of the leading men of their dioceses who were favourable to the Government, and with their help to make suggestions for the remedying of disorders, for the fuller repression of popery, maintenance of justice, promotion of God's gospel, and punishment of those who afflicted the honest and godly and maintained the perverse and ungodly. As the same method is not adopted by each bishop it is difficult to tabulate the results with accuracy; roughly estimated, the total of justices marked favourable is 431; marked indifferent, neuter, or not favourable, 264; hinderers or adversaries, 157. The dioceses reported to be most hostile to the Government were those of the north and west; Carlisle, Durham, York, Worcester, Hereford, and Exeter were strong in opposition. Staffordshire was troubled by a knot of "hinderers" led by the Vernons, and in Buckinghamshire Sir Robert Drury, Sir Robert Peckham, and Sir William Dormer were the leaders of a large band of men "not fit to be trusted." Where the towns are mentioned these are found to be in nearly every case more hostile to the Government than the counties. Newcastle-on-Tyne alone is an exception.

These lists serve as a measure of the progress which the doctrines of the Reformation had made among the middle classes, for the administrators of local government are here classified as they supported or opposed the doctrines of the Church of Rome; the bishops were not as yet concerned to exclude the advanced reformers from office, and there is nothing in these lists to show that they included among the men "not fit to be trusted" any persons other than those who were reputed to have leanings towards Roman Catholicism. These lists should prove valuable to local historians, for they give a complete religious census of the leading men of each county. Most of the names may be identified in the large county histories, but as a rule genealogical evidence alone is here forthcoming; the bishops' remarks give to many a distinct political and religious identity.

It would be interesting to trace the results which attended the Council's efforts to secure a body of justices willing to carry out its wishes, but this cannot be done with any completeness until the lists of justices of the peace, which may be found on the backs of the Patent Rolls, have been printed. So far as I have been able to compare these lists it does not appear that the Council effected any sudden changes; hinderers and persons not conformable sometimes remained in office, and signed the Act of Supremacy in 1569.[a] Several of the bishops were obliged to recommend the retention of the services of men who were "noted adversaries of religion," either by reason of their intimate acquaintance with the law or because they could not recommend any persons as fit to fill their places. The steady increase of the powers of the justices of the peace in religious matters which went on throughout the reign is proof enough that the Council found that it could secure the co-

[a] Eliz. D.S.P. lx. 22.

operation of this body. It was the Act of the preceding year (5 Eliz. c. i.) which necessitated an inquiry at this particular time, for the Council had begun a new system when not justices of assize only, but also justices of the peace, were made responsible within the limits of their commission for the execution of the Act for preserving the power of the Crown against the usurpation of the see of Rome.

Only favourers of religion and godly proceedings could afford to laugh with Falstaff at "Robert Shallow esquire," "in the county of Gloster justice of peace and *coram*," ay and *cust-alorum*, ay and *rato-lorum* too, "a gentleman who writes himself *armigero* on every bill, warrant, quittance, or obligation *armigero*," but men not staid in religion trembled when Robert Shallow esquire made a Star Chamber matter of their doings or let the Council know of them.

The same careful watch which the Council kept on justices of the peace was kept upon the corporations, especially when the aldermen were by their municipal privilege also justices of the peace. From lists like these the Council got the information which enabled it to decide who should be appointed as mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses when charters of incorporation were to be granted or "confirmations" of old charters drawn up in which only the most important sentences of the originals were changed. Since the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgesses appointed in the first instance were to fill up all vacancies in their ranks by co-option, care had to be taken to avoid the appointment of adversaries of religion.[a]

These returns afford a most characteristic illustration of that infinite care for detail and love of minute inquiry which inspired the Elizabethan Government. The lists of justices of the peace contain the great names of each county, for it was not beneath the dignity of a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council to sit at quarter sessions, but they also contain the names of many small men unskilled in the laws; all were watched with equal zeal by the Council's jealous eye; nobody could hope to keep his religious convictions a secret from the Council; however outwardly conformable, if inwardly he was frowardly superstitious the Council knew it. Matthew Parker alone shrinks from ticketing the religion of every man, and writes tartly when he sends the list of names commended to him for the dioceses of Llandaff and Oxford[a] that "what these be and what others be your honours of the Council know much better than we can inform you, and as for myself I know them not and sometime informers serve their own turn and gratify their friends." The remedies for disorders suggested by the bishops are the favourite remedies of the time and show no originality; they recommend those in authority to receive the communion frequently in order to set a good example, and to hear sermons and discourses before quarter sessions in order to keep their religious duties well in mind; oaths cannot be too frequently administered to suspected persons and to those in authority. The evil of privileged jurisdictions exempt from their control is one which several bishops were anxious to remove.

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[a] Take for instance the charters granted to Leicester, 1588, 1599 (J. Thompson, pp. 285 and 307); in the second the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses are all named; so too at Newbury (Money, p. 228) in 1596, the mayor, six aldermen, and twenty-four capital burgesses are singled out by name; at Beverley (Poulson, p. 12) the charter of 15 Eliz. names the governors to be called the Common Council, they are to appoint to all vacancies. An interesting collection of cases of this kind might be made to illustrate the growth of oligarchy in English towns.

My best thanks are due to the Bishop of Peterborough, who drew my attention to this manuscript, and to Mr. R. T. Gunton, the Marquis of Salisbury's secretary, who kindly made arrangements for my convenience in copying it. Owing to the exigencies of space it has been found necessary to print the names in lines instead of in lists, and in some minor particulars to abandon the arrangement of the manuscript. Abbreviations are expanded, and square brackets used where the sense is doubtful.

MARY BATESON.

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[a] Then vacant.

LETTERS FROM THE BISHOPS TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL, 1564.

mark, c. c. 5.

: your Lordships letters datid the
he xxth of the same at night, and
I haue with all diligencie traveiled
lement, and have herinclosed sent
t aunswearing the Seuerall pointes
ank god I am well acquainted with
ffections of such as be bell weathers
I am I haue dealt faithfullie herin,
ne I fearid partis or respectid person
the, vsing the aduise of Such as be
e state of their Countreie and good
memb e. Ffor Worcester Shire I vsed the
Counsell of Sir Thom il, knight, for the Citie of Worcester
I vsed the Counsell of Christopher Dighton, a grave and a wise Citizin. Ffor the Towne of Warwick and that percell of my dioceses there I vsed the Counsell of William Huddisdon, gent, and Nicholas Jackson, person of Halford. I wold haue consulted with mo in this matter, but Such as I thought most meete for the purpose were out of the Countreie and men are loth to meddle in matters that may turne to their displeasure. The repressing of

poperie, the punishement of Offendors, the reforming of religion, the maintenaunce of Justice and the promoting of goddes gospell, I referre to your honorable consideracions, authoritie and wisedomes. God graunt good Successe to your godlie intendementes. The right waie to Stablishe a kingedome is first to rectifie religion; where god is trulie Sought, there is greate Safetie; and if he keepe not the Citie, the watchmen labor but in vaine. Goddes kingedome is first to be Sought, his house is first to be built, his church is first to be pourgid. Josophat, Ezechias, Josias, the good princes, wrought this waie. Christ entering into Jerusalem first pourged the temple. The Church, Saieth Chrisostome, is as the Stomack of a man; yf the stomake be pourged and made cleene, the bodie wil be Safe from Sicknes. Sainct Paule wold haue old leaven cast out. The Shipp was not Safe vntill Jonas was hurled into the Sea. But whie trouble I your wisedomes with wordes. Seing that ye can not forgett to remember these matters, zeale carieth me further than becomith me. I praie your honors pardon me. Meanes to redresse Such thinges as be amisse your wisedomes can best Consider, yet forsomuche as it pleaseth your Lordshippes to require my poore aduise, I will Simplie Saie that which vpon the Sodaine I thinck.

Yf all Such as mislike and contemne true religion, now by commen order Set furth, were put out of auctoritie and publique office.

Yf the othe for the quenes maiesties Supremacie were tenderid to all Such as beare rule or be of auctoritie in their Countreie and yet knowen to be adversaries to true religion.

Yf Such as be put in Commission for the peace or are callid to other offices in the commen wealth Should take their othes openlie at the Sessions or some other publique place for the Quenes Supremacie.

Yf the Justices of Assise at everie of their Sessions should first heare a s(ermon).

Yf Justices of Assise and also of the peace in their Sessions wold diligentlie enquire of matters of religion and effectuouslie punishe transgressers of the Same.

Yf gentillmen and Such as be in auctoritie were Inyoined everie quarter once to receave the Communion and to heare a Sermon to the good example of others.

f. 1b.

Yf popishe and peruerse priestes which, misliking, religion haue forsaken the ministerie and yet liue in corners, are kept in gentillmens houses and had in greate estimacion with the people, where they marvailouslie pervert the Simple and blaspheme the truthe, were restrainid of their libertie & put to the othe for the quenes Maiesties Supremacie.

Yf commaundement were giuen to Cities and tounes Corporate that they should speciallie regard to those Such officers as were wise, godlie and favorers of the truthe.

Yf Justice and iudgement were severelie without respect of person executed, and vice and Sinne in all Sortes of people sharplie punished.

Yf the ministers of goddes word were all compelled to consent in one truth and preache one doctrine, faithfullie and prudentlie with all diligencie to do their office and to liue in good order.

Then I wold not doubt but god should haue his glorie, this realme should florishe, the prince liue in greate comfort, and the people in good order and much quietnes. Thus praing the all mightie god to graunt you the Spirite of wisedome, that you may governe to his glorie, the honor of the prince and to the good of the Commenwealthe, I Commend your honors to his gratious direction and merciefull tuition.

Ffrom my house at Hartilburie, this xxviith daie of october 1564

Your honors humble at Comandement,

E. S. WIGORN.[a]

---

[a] Edwin Sandys.

f. 2a.

[The first column contains a list of "Gentillmen of anie worshipp or name now abiding in Worcestershire;" these are then classified as below. To avoid repetition the names of the residences which it supplies have been added to the classified list. The only names not classified are those of Richard Hobbie of Elmsleie Castell, gent.; Anthonie Wollmore of Kington, gent.; and John Hall of Hallowe, gent. The note is added that John Talbot, Esquier, and Gilbert Talbot, Junior, are now not resiant within the shire.

The second column contains a list of the "Justices of peace resiant within Worcestershire." To avoid repetition, the information this column supplies is added to col. 4. It then continues:]

Col. 2.

Hedde officers and other rulers temporall within the countie of Wigorn:

Sir Edward Saunders, knight, Lord chief baron, iustice of assise; Thomas Carus, esq., Sergiant at Lawe, Justice of Assise; William Sheldon, esq., custos rotulorum; Sir Thomas Baskervile, knight, High Sherif; Sir Robert Throckmorton, knight, Highe Steward of the landes of the dissolvid monasterie of the abbaie of Evesham; Sir Robert Throckmorton, knight, Highe Steward of the landes of the bushopp of Wigorn.

Sir John Bourne, knight, high Steward of the landes of the House of Wigorn; Sir Thomas Russell, knight, Surveior of the landes of the bushop of Wigorn; William Conniers, esq., Surveior of the quenes majesties landes with in the countie of Wigorn; John Wallwen, gent., Surveior of the landes of the house of Wigorn; William Cookeseie, esq., vndersteward of the landes of the dissolvid monasterie of Evesham; Clement Swalow, gent., vndersteward of the landes of the bushop of Wigorn; Thomas Cecill, gent., vndersteward of the landes of the house of Wigorn; Edmund Colles the quenes maiesties Excheater for Worcestershire; John Hornicold, esq., Auditor aswel of certen of the queenes landes as also of the busshoppes whole Landes.

[Col. 3 contains a list of Coroners, whose names will be found below; of "Hedde officers within the Citie of Wigorn," whose names will be found below except that of John Throckmorton, esquire, recorder; a note that "The bailiffes and aldermen are allwaies Justices of the peace with in the Citie by their Corporacion; of Hedde officers for the ecclesiasticall politie, whose names and offices are entered below;" and a note that "Bailiffes of small corporate Townes are here omitted because they are removeable everie yeare."

Col. 4.

Favorers of true religion:

Edwinus episcopus; Sir Thomas Russell, knight, of Strensham, Justice of peace resiant within Worcestershire; Sir Thomas Pakington, knight, of Hampton; William Ligon, esq., of Madresfield; John Littelton, esq., of Frankleie; Thomas Blount, esq., of Kitterminster; Robert Hunckes, esq., of Blockleie; Miles Sandes, esq., of Fladburie; Anthonie Daston, esq., of Bradwaie; William Jeffreis, esq., of Homme Castell; Richard Smith, esq., of Upton on Severn; Frauncis Welsh, esq., of Shellesleie Welsh; Anthonie Washburn, esq., of Wichenford; John pakington, esq., of Chaddesleie; Thomas Horton, esq., of Staunton; Edmund Harewel, gent., of Besford; Gilbert Littleton, gent., of Claines; Roger Littleton, gent., of Groveleie; William Rouse, gent., of Aberton; Robert Gower, gent., of Witleie; Kettilbie, gent., of Codderidge; Thomas Barnabie, gent., of Bockleton; Bartholomewe Hales, gent., of Fladburie; William Harrison, Coroner, of Parshor; Thomas Doding, bailif, of Wigorn; Richard Bullingham, alderman there; John peddar, deane of the Cathedral Church; Thomas powell, Chauncelor and Archdeacon.

Nota.

Adversaries of true religion:

Sir Thomas Baskervile, knight, of Birlingham (High Sheriff); Sir John bourne, knight, of Holt;[a] Henry Dingleie, esq., of

[a] Signs as J. P. to Act of Uniformity, 1569. On his enmity to Sandys, see *State Papers*, p. 223.

Cropthorne ; John Knottesford, esq., of Greate Malvern, William Cookeseie, esq., of Stulton, Justices of peace resiant within Worcestershire ; Michaell Ligon, esq., of Powike ; William Conniers, esq., of Belbroughton ; John middemore, gent., of Kingesnorton ; William Sparrie, gent., of Kingesnorton ; William Heath, gent., of Allchurch ; Robert Blount, gent., of Asteleie ; Thomas Lewkener, gent., of Allchurch ; Lench, gent., of Dardall ; Jeffreie Markham, esq., of Feckenham ; Arthur Wood, gent., of Claines ; Thomas Bourne, gent., of St. Johns ; Connand Richardson, gent., of Parshor ; William Moore, gent., of Powike ; Morgan, gent., of Hanbury ; Richard Badland, (Bailiffe in the citie of Wigorn) ; John Concher,[a] alderman (in the Citie of Wigorn) ; Thomas Cecill ; Thomas p(o)pe of Malvern, Coroner ; Edward Darnell, (Town clerk) ; William Warmesbreie, Register.

Col. 5.

Indifferent in religion or else of no religion :

William Sheldon, Esq., of Beoleie (Custos Rotulorum), John ffolliot, esq., of Pirton, Edmund Colles, esq., of Lighe, John Rouse, esq., of Rouselench, Justices of peace resiant within Worcestershire ; William Gower, senior, esq., of Woddall ; Charles Acton, esq., of Elmeleie Lovet ; Walter Blount, esq., of Sillington ; John Hornieold, esq., of Blakmore park ; Fraunсis Braze, esq., of Dardoll ; John Abington, esq., of Hallowe ; William Nunfand, gent., of Berrowe ; Nicholas Clifton, gent., of Clifton ; William Gower, Junior, gent., of Boulton ; William Gower, gent., of Witleie ; Richard Barnabie, gent., of Acton ; Henry field, gent., of Kinges Norton, Coroner ; William Child, Clerik of the peace ; Thomas Cotterell, of Erlescrome, Coroner.

Men fit to be Justices of the peace in the countie of Wigorn :

Episcopus ; Sir Thomas Russell, knight ; Sir Thomas pakington, knight ; William Ligon, esquier ; John Littelton, esq. ;

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[a] Signs Act of Uniformity, 1569

William Sheldon, esq.; Thomas Blount, esq.; Robert Hunckes, esq.; Miles Sandes, esq; John ffolliot, esq.; Edmund Colles, esq.; Anthonie Daston, esq.; Richard Smith, esq; John Rouse, esq.; William Jeffreis, esq., mort.[a]; Fraunci Welsh, esq.; John Abington, esq.; Edmund Harewell, gent.; John Peddar, deane; Thomas Powel, chauncelor.

Men fit to be Shiriffes:

Sir Thomas Russell, knight; Sir Thomas Pakington, knight; William Ligon, Esq.; John Littleton, esq.; William Sheldon, esq.; Robert Hunckes, esq.; Thomas Blount, esq.; John ffolliot, esq.; Anthonie Daston, esq.; Fraun cis Welsh, esq.

[Col. 6 contains a list of "Justices of peace in that part of Warwickshire which is within the dioceses of Wigorn," whose names are classified below; of "Hedde officers and other rulers within that part of Warwickshire"—Sir James Diar, knight, Justice of Assise; Sergiant Benlose, Justice of Assise, & the High Sheriff & the Queen's Receiver (see below); & of "Hedd officers in the ton of Warwick," whose names, except that of John Ditch, are classified below as Governors.]

Col. 7.

Ffavorers of true religion:

John ffisher, esq., high shirif; Thomas Lucie, esq., of Charlecote, Clement Throkmorton, esq., of Haseleie, Justices of peace in that part of Warwickshire; Robert gibbes, esquier, of Honington; Giles Palmer, gent., of Barton on the heath; William Huddesdon, gent., of Warwick, Governor; James Langwurth, gent., of Tisoo; Charles Ramesford, gent., of Wotton Worwen.

Aduersaries of true religion:

Sir Robert Throkmorton, knigh(t), of Coughton, Justice of peace in that part of Warwikshire; Sir William Wigston, knight, recorder ; John Somerfield, esq., of Eddenston ; FFrauncis Smith, esq., of Wotton Worwen ; Edward ferrys, esq., of Cock Levington; Thomas fisher, esq., of Warwik, the quenes receaver; Thomas Vnderhill, esq., of Etington; John Vnderhill, esq., of Grimstoke ; Thomas Knottesford, gent., of Studleie ; Hedgock, gent., of Salford ; John Comes, gent., of Stratford ; Graunt, gent., of Snitterfield; William Skinner, gent., of Rowington ; Clement Swalow, gent. ; Richard Roo, bailif.

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[a] Note in Burleigh's hand. "William Jeffreis" is scratched out.

Richard ffisher, John ffisher, Thomas Barrett, William Edmundes, Richard Townesend, Roger Edgeworth,[a] town clerk, Gove(rnors).

Indifferent in religi(on) (or) of no religion :

Sir John Conwaie, knight of Arrowe ; fouke grivell, esq., of Beauchamp Court ; Thomas Throkmorton, esq., Justice of Peace in that part of Warwickshire ; Anthonie Trussell, esq., of Billesleie ; Anthonie Ingram, esq , of Litle Wolford ; Thomas Rowleie, gent., of Utlecote ; Richard Middlemore, gent., of Studleie ; Richard Hall, gent., of Utlecote.

John Butler, Thomas Oken, John Nason, William Hill, governers.

Robert Gibbes is a fit man to be a J(ustice) of peace.

Endorsed : To the quenes Maiestie most honorable Privie Counsell.

f. 5.

My dutie humbly considered. Vnderstandinge by your honorable lettres the Quenes maiesties most earnest intention for thadvauncement of true religion to represse obstinate adversaries, as I greatly reioyce, so haue I employed my endevour (as shortnes of tyme would suffer) to satisfie your lordshippes commandement requiringe spead. Ffirst, thankes be to almightie god, through the Quenes most gracious government, assisted by your lordships providente circumspections this Countye of Sussex whereof, as an humble servitour, I execute the ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, is fre from all violent attemptes eyther to afflite the godlye or to distourbe the stablisshed good orders of this Realme. Notwithstandinge I doubte of secrett practises which perhappes myght breake oute into open violence, were yt not for feare of your Lordshippes vigilante Aucthorite. It is to be wished that men of honour, whyles they be resiante in the sheire, to haue learned preachers of their own or others, shewinge themselves wyllinge to heare the worde of god, whose example draweth a nombre of people after them. Concerninge the matter I haue vsed conference with Mr. Dean of Sarum and Mr. Augustine Bradbridge, my Chancelour, bothe of them borne in the shire and thoroughly acquainted with the state of the same. I refrayned to communicate so franckly with others because I doubted of there secretnes, that retinue and alliance beinge so great in theis partes. Also the chefest to be trusted nighe vnto me at this pointe were from home. Thus commendinge your honours to the tuition of our saviour christe,

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[a] Written Sogworth in col. 6.

Ffrom Allingborne the xxvii$^{\text{tie}}$ of this Octobre,

Humblie at Commandment,

W. CRESTREN.[a]

f. 7.

The countye of Sussex very narrowe in breadeth is about lx myles in Length and is devided into two partes East and West.

Col. 1.

In the west parte:

Justices of peace which be favourers of religion and godlye orders:

Sir Thomas Palmer of gadwode, knight, A fainte furtherer;[b] Mr. Henry Goringe of Westburton; Mr. Jhon Apleye of Thacham, learned in the lawe;[b] Mr. Henrye mervin of Rogate; Mr. William Bartlett of Stopham.

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[a] William Barlow, Bishop of Chichester.

[b] Notes in another ink.

Justices of peace which be myslykers of religion and godlye procedinges:

Mr. William Shelley of michelgrove; Mr. William Dautrey of moore, Verye superſticious;[a] Mr. Edmonde Forde of Chartinge, Extremely perverse;[a]

Gentlemen being no Justices favourers of godlie procedinges:

Mr. Jhon ffennour of Amberley; Mr. William Stanney of the manwoode; Mr. Richard Crulie of Cackham.

Gentlemen beinge no Justices myslykers of godlie orders:

Mr. Richard Lewknour of Ttrotton; Mr. Thomas Stoughton of Stansted, a stoute scorner of godlines;[a] Mr. Thomas Lewknour of Tangmer; Mr. William Devenishe of Chichester; Mr. William Stapleton of Ovinge, wickedly obstinate;[a] Mr. Arthure Gunter of Rackton.

Col. 2.

In the East parte:

Justices of peace which be favourers of Religion and godlie order:

Mr. George Goringe of Ovingdean, learned in the lawe; Mr. Jeferye of Chittinglye,[b] learned in the lawe;[a] Mr. Jhon Hussey of Cukfilde; Mr. Richard Elderton of Wiston; Mr. John Limmesford of Easthothly.

Justices of peace which be myslykers of religion and godly procedinges:

Sir Edward Gage of fferle; Mr. Jhon Thatcher of Westham; Mr. Richard Coverte of Slowham;[b] Mr. William Culpeper of Ardinglie; Mr. Henry Poole of Dechelinge; Mr. Edward Bellingham of Newtymber; Mr. Thomas Parker of Wyllington; Mr. Thomas Dorrell of Stackney; Mr. Robertes.

Gentlemen being no Justices favourers of godly procedinges:

Mr. Anthony Pelham of ; Mr. Jhon Pelham of

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[a] Notes in another ink.

[b] Signed the Act of Uniformity, 1569. D.S.P. lx. 22.

Lawghton;[a] Mr. Jhon Selwyn of ffriston; Mr. Laurence Ashburneham of Gestlinge; Mr. William Morleye of Glyne; Mr. Anthony Stapley of ffranfeld; Mr. ffrances Spilman of Hartfeld.

Gentlemen beinge no Justices myslikers of godlie orders:

Mr. James Gage of Broyle, A common herborer of obstinates;[b] Mr. Shelley of Patchinge; Mr. Drewe Barrentyn of Horstid kaynes; Mr. Scott of Edon.

On the back (f. 6a), Col. 1.

The tounes in the west parte:

Laurence Andreu, maior, Rafe Chantelor, Steward, notorious obstinate aduersaries.[b]

Thomas Addams, Thomas Palmer, Jhon Moyses, Jhon Cooke, Thomas ffaringdon, frowardly superstícious.[b]

Of whom the last three be Justices of the peace within there Liberties by a late Commission which were better for gover(n)mente of the poore Citie to be revoked and the Cittizens to be as they were before vnder som order of the Justices at Large.

Col. 2, parallel column.

The tounes of the east parte:

Rye, Hastinge, Lewes, and Brighthelmeston ar governed with suche officers as be faythfull favourers of goddes worde and earnestly given to mainteyn godly orders.

Endorsed f. 8 b.: To the right honorable Lordes of the Quenes majesties privie counsell.

f. 9a.

My dewtei most humbly vnto your honors remembred. These ar to aduertise the same that I receaved your most honorable letters the 20 of october dated at S. James the 17 of the same monthe: which according to my bounden dewtey I haue with all diligence considered and altho I am persuaded that to certefie your honors according to your commaundment maie procure me moare hatered (which neadeth not) and what as hatered can do, yet my dewte of obedience to your honors, the advauncement of goddes honor and the comfort of good and faithfull subiectes (which your honors will me herein to respecte) hathe for the present driven awaie fearfulnes of offending any person. So that I haue frely, planely and also truly (so far as either myne owne skill and knowlege or the skill and knowlege of others whome in this matter I haue vsed can reache) certefied your honors to euery point of your said letters.

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[a] A J. P. Oct., 1569.

[b] Notes in another ink.

ffor this certeficat (because my chauncelor doeth ordenarely ride abought my diocese vi or vii tymes yeareley and therfor like to haue good knowlege of gent(lemen) in the same) I vsed his counsell and advise. In like manner I vsed the deane of the cathedrall church of Hereford and singularly euery deane rurall for his owne deanery wherin he ys deane, which do best knowe the gent(lemen) in their severall deaneris and thus thorowe their skill and myne owne, I haue certefied as foloweth; most humbly beseching your honors to take in good parte owr simple & plaine dealing and by your discrete and godly wisedomes so to use and order both us and this good cause that we be not brought hereby in to further hatered, contempt or daunger than must neades folowe.

Your honors to commaund

JO. HEREF.[a]

The names of soche persons as now beare rule in the countei of Hereford and diocese of the same which be demed not favorably to this religion :

John skudamor [b] of Home, esq., one of the counsell of the Marshes of Wales iustice of peace. Custos rotulorum. Hie stuard of vrching fie(l)d and stuard of the cytye of Hereford.

Richard Seborne of Sutton, esq., on of the said cowncell & iustice of peace; John skudamor of Kenchurch,[c] esq., iustice of peace;

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[a] John Scory.

[b] Signed the Act of Uniformity, 1569. D. S. P. lx. 22.

[c] Refused to sign.

Thomas Havard of Hereford, esq., iustice of peace; Thomas Clynton of Estenor, esq., iustice of peace ; John Huband abbots Hybottes[a] of Hampton, esq., iustice of peace ; Richard Harford of bosbery, esq., no iustice, but the Quenes majesties generall surveior (as I haue learned) of all Hereford shere, and receivor to her majestei of Soche landes as belonged lately to the bishop of Hereford ; John Clarke of Hereford, gent., no iustice, but he ys clarke of the peace and exerciseth the office vnder Mr. liggen of bishopes castell in Shropshire which favoreth not this religion.

John James of Stretton ; John Crouse of brobery, no iustices, but thei be the crowners for the county of Hereford.

f. 9b.

The names of soche persons as now beare rule in the cowntei of Hereford and diocese of the same which be demed newters in religion.

Sir James baskervile,[b] knight of , iustice of peace; John Harley[b] of bramton, esq., iustice of peace and rular of Wigmores land ; Symon Apparry[b] of , esq., iustice of peace ; george Apparry[b] of paston. Hie Shrefe of the countei of Hereford the yeare now past and ended ; Richard monington of Sarnisfeld, iustice of peace ; gregory price of Hereford, esq., iustice of peace.

The names of soche as now beare rule in the countei of Hereford and diocese of the same which be iuged favourable to this religion.

John[b] bushop of Hereford on of the counsell of thē marshes & iustice of peace.

Sir James Acroft, knight, of croft, iustice of peace, Sir Robert Whitney of Whitney, knight, iustice of peace ; Hughe Apparry[b] of Aconbury, esq., iustice of peace ; Walter Vauhan of brodwardene, esq., iustice of peace.

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[a] Called below John Hibotes of Hampton.

[b] Signed in 1569

James Warmecombe[a] of Wington, iustice of peace; John Patsall of the forde, esq., iustice of peace; James boyle of Hereford, esq., iustice of peace. These iii be learned in lawes of the realme.

John Abrall of Eustane, esq., iustice of peace.

The names of soche as be now no iusticeis in the countei of Hereford which, for the favoure which thei beare to this religion and of good giftes, are mete to be called to be iusticeis.

John Ellys,[a] deane of the cathedrall churche of Hereford, a divine.

Edward threlkeld of ledbery, doctor of the lawes and chauncelar of the dyocese of Hereford; Edmond Horwell of Cradley, esq. This gentleman (because part of his house standeth in Worcestershere notwithstanding bothe his bedchamber and parishe churche called cradley aforesaid ar in Hereford shere) accounteth himselfe of & with that shere of Worceter & neverthe(less) because ther be moare in Worcetershire that favore this religion than be in Herefordshere, your honors shuld do very well to command him to serue the Quenes maiestie in Herefordshere.

Nicholas Debden of ludford, esq.; John Heward of ledbery, gent.; John myntrige of cradley, gent.; John garnans of Hereford, gent., meanely learned in the lawes of (the) realme; Thomas Kirll of Walford, gent., learned in the lawes of the realme.

f. 10a.

The citei of Hereford ys fraunchesed and ys governed by a Mayer whome the comens do yearely chose of the common cowncell or election.

The names of the common counsell or election which be demed no favorers to this religion.

Thomas Havard, iustice of peace, which by common fame ys a daily dronkard, a receivar & mayntainar of thennemeys of religion, a mayntener of supersticion and namely of abrogated holydaies.

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[a] Signed in 1569.

He vseth to praie vpon a laten primer full of supersticions. His wife & maydens vse bedes and to be short he is a mortall ennemy to Christen religion (thus doeth Mr. Deane of hereford write vnto me, which I partly knowe and partly beleave to be true.)

Rowland rice; Harry Dodson; Walter caredyne; Thomas churche;[a] William raulyins; Richard partriche,[a] Senior; Richard partriche, Junior; William runell; James Eiton; John Clarke, toune clarke; John Darnell; Richard bromwich; John Seward; Father Chalice; Mathewe geffres; John Clyotes, an atturney at the lawe; John Hyde; John partriche of bothale; Humfre Wilbram; William benet.

The names of soche of the said councell or election that be iuged neuters in religion:

John gibbes;[a] John maylar,[a] mayer for this yeare; Thomas boyle; Richard vele; Harry grene; John pearle; Thomas russell; Thomas currant; John Whitlache; Edward Welche.

So that of the holl counsall or election ther is not on that ys counted favourable to this religion.

f. 10b.

The names of soche persons as nowe beare rule in the countei of Salope that dwell in or veri neare the diocese of Hereford which be demed not favorable to this religion.

William gatacre of clarely, esq., iustice of peace; Adam Watley of pitsford, esq., iustice of peace; Richard amytton of Salope, esq., iustice of peace; Thomas eyton of eiton, esq., iustice of peace; John farmor, dwelling in Briggenorth parke, esq., iustice of the peace.

The names of soche persons as now beare rule in the countei of Salope and dwell in the diocese of Hereford which be counted newters in religion:

Sir george blunt, knight of Kenlet, Hie shrefe of shropshire this last yeare now almost ended; Charles Soye of bromfild, esq., Secretory to the counsell of the marshes and iustice of peace; Richard Cornewall of burford, esq., iustice of peace.

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[a] Signed in 1569.

The names of soche persons as now beare reule in the countie of Salope which be demed favorable to this religion and dwell in Hereford diocese:

Harry lord Stafford of Cawas iustice of peace; Edward leighton of Wattesborowe, esq., iustice of peace; Symon Kemsei of ponsbery, esq., iustice of peace; Thomas Willyams of Wollaston, esq., iustice of peace. This gent maye also serue in mungommery shere because he dwell very neare that s(here).

The names of soche as be favorers of this religion in the countei of Salope and dwell in the diocese of Hereford not yet in office, neuertheless thought mete to be called to be iustices:

Richard lawley of Wenlocke, esq.; Thomas lodlowe of the morehouse, esq., baily of Wenlock; William leighton of plashe, esq., learned in the lawes of the realme; Rowland lacon of Willey, esq.; Lewes Jones of bushopes castell, esq.; John Hopton of Morcaild, esq.; Fraunceis Cresset of Staunton lacey, gent.; Edmond Cornewall of burford, gent.; Edward Hopton of bitterley, gent.; Adam lutley of bromscroft, gent.

f. 11a.

Radnor:

The tounes of old radnor, new radnor and prestene be in the diocese of Hereford and veri litle moare of that cowntei ys in the said diocese, whereas none of the iustices of peace that be now in office ar cownted favorers of this religion but the best of them ys iuged but a newter.

Ther names be:

John bradshawe theldar of prestene, esq., iustice of peace; John bedo of prestene, iustice of peace; Perse lloyd of prestene, iustice of peace; Roberd Vauhan of prestene, iustice of peace, but counted a poore man; Edward pre of Kington, esq., iustice of peace; Thomas lewes of old radnor, iustice of peace.

The names of soche as favoure this religion in the countei of radnor, and dwell in the diocese of Hereford, which ar now no iusticeis but yet meete to be called thervnto:

John blayney of Stepleton in the parish of prestene, gent.; John madockes of barlanton in the parish of old radnor, esq.; Edward threlkeld of ledbery, doctor of the lawes and chauncelar of Hereford (because he rideth ordenarely vi. or vii. tymes yearely in to that part of radnorshere that ys in Hereford diocese as well as in to others, might serve well ther in the place of a iustice of peace considering ther ys so litle choise of soche as be favorable to this religion.

Worcetorshere:

Certeine villages also of Worcetershere be in the diocese of Hereford, whearas be iii. gentlemen, The first ys John throgmorten of ribbisford, esq., on of the councell of the marshes and iusticeis ther, demed not favorable to this religion. The second ys William geffres of Homme Castell, esq., now iustice of peace and iuged to favoure this religion. The iii^{de} ys fraunces Welshe of litle shelsey, esq., accounted a favorer of this religion, no iustice now but mete to be called thervnto.

monmoth:

The toune of monmoth ys in the diocese of Hereford and no moare of that countey, and ys gouerned by a mayer which ys yearely chosen by the commens of the toune and ii balies.

The names of soche as be not counted favorable to this religion in the toune of monmoth:

More Appowell, recorder of the towne.

William G[ui]ll[i]m, Thomas Williams of the priory, Roberd Williams, his sonne, of the common counsell.

The names of soche as be demed favorable to this religion in the toune of monmoth :

William bunting, mayer this year.

Huegh baker, Edward Ag[ui]ll[i]m, balies this year.

John knight, Crownar, John Waters, clarke of the peace, James leighton, gent., meanely learned in the lawes of this realme.

f. 12a.

Hereford :

The toune of lempster in the countei & diocese of Hereford ys fraunchesed and gouerned by a baley yearely elected.

George Monons[a] balei this yeare a simple man and a neuter in religion demed.

The favoreres of religion in the said toune as counted to be these folowing :

Fraunces Philips, gent.; John Hingeley, gent. ; John strete; Thomas Dallow, gent. ;[b] Richard stede ; John poll, baker.

I can not heare of any ennemeis to this religion in the said towne that be of any reputacion.

Salope :

The towne of lodlowe yn the countei of salope & diocese of Hereford ys also a fraunchesed towne, whear the counsell of the marshes do commonly lie.

The names of soche as ar demed to favoure this religion in the said towne ar these :

Laurence Beck, Richard raskall,[c] bailies this yeare.

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[a] Monox. G. F. Townsend, p. 293.

[b] Bailiff, Townsend, p. 293.

[c] Mirror for Men of Ludlow, p. 107. Ric. Baskoll, 1596, was put into the new corporation made by Elizabeth, with William Beck, Richard Blashfield, and — Walker.

Simon thornton, Scolemaster; Nicholas Debden of lodford, esq., he dwellith hard by the said towne; Richard Walter, gent., learned in the lawes of the realme; Thomas Blasfeld, gent.

The rest of this towne are cownted either ennemeys or newters.

Hereford:

Ther be also in this diocese and countey of Hereford diuerse fostered and mayntayned that be iuged & estemed some of them to be learned, which in Quene Marys daies had livinges and officeis in the churche, which be mortall and deadly ennemys to this religion. Their names be blaxton, mugge, Arden, Ely, frier gregory, Howard, Rastall of gloceter, Jonson, menevar, Oswald, Hamerson, ledbery and certeyne others whose names I knowe not. These go from on gentlemans house to another, whear thei know to be welcome which (as S. Paule writeth of some soche like to titus) *totas domus subuertunt, docentes quae non oportet, turpis lucri gratia.*[a]

The cheafe and principall receivors & mayntenors of these ar William luson, canon residensari of Hereford, the vecars of the quere ther, Thomas Havard of Hereford, iustice of peace. John skudamor of Kenchurche, iustice of peace; John Hibottes of Hampton, iustice of peace; Richard Harford of bosbery, esq.; Thomas Croft of Ocley, esq.; William berington of Winsley, esq.; Thomas Clynton of Estnor, iustice of peace; Thomas berington of cowarne, gent; James eiton, William Russell, John Ely & John Hide citezens of Hereford and of the common counsell ther.

And of these ther be certeine thought to haue masseis in their houseis, which come very seldome or not at all to churche, which neuer received the communion since the Quenes majesties raigne openly in the church, which keape as it wer scoles in their houses of popery, deriding and mocking this religion & the ministers therof, which be a marvelous stombling block to the Quenes majestes loving subiectes in this countei. Seing in them and som tyme also hearing of them, soche contempt of religion without correction or controlment as for my part I remember the wise saing of iesus the sonne of Syrac, *iudex evadere ne contendas, ne inique factis par esse non possis.*[a] I must neades confesse that I am not able to reforme these, except I shuld be mightely backed by your honorable auctorite, and haue those worshipfull iusticeis which ar demed favorers of religion to be more ernestly ayding than thei haue ben; to enterprise a matter, and not able to finishe the same accordingly, shuld encrease furthe derision, contempt and hatered with out profit. Therfor I referre this to your most honorable consideracion and godly wisdom.

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[a] Titus i. 11.

f. 13a.

Hereford:

Further whearas your honors willed me by your said honorable letters that I shuld also aduertise the same yf ther war any other thing within the said diocese of hereford that might tende to the redresse of the disorder you wrote of, (which you meane to remedei) Maye yt please your honors to be advertesed that yf the cathedrall churche of Hereford war reformed, the citei also and the countei of hereford, yea, the holl dyocese, wold sone be by goddes grace be (*sic*) in like maner reformed. Besides myne owne knowlege Mr. John Ellys, deane of the said churche, hathe certefied me as foloweth: thet all the canons resedensaries (except Jones, *qui dicit, et non facit* which ys rashe, hastei and ondiscrete), ar but discemblers and rancke papistes. And these haue the rule of the churche, and of all the ministres and officers of the same, and ar neither subiect to the ordenary iurisdictyon, neither of the deane, nor of the bushop, but war reserued inmediately to the vsurped iurisdiction of the bishop of rome, and nowe to the Quenes majestei (as thei saie) which thei clayme and hold by prescription. So that now thei maie do what thei list without controlment. Thei neither obserue the Quenes majestes iniunctions given vnto them in her highnes visitacion, nor the archebusshope of Cantorberis iniunctions given them in his visitacion, nor yet the iniunctyons of the Quenes maiestes hie commissioners (wherof I send herein vnto your honors a copei). The communion was not ministred in the cathedrall churche since ester (as I am enformed). The canons will neither preache, reade homelis nor minister the holy communion, nor do any other thing to commend, beautefie or set forwardes this religion, but mutter agenst yt, receive and mayntaine the ennemys of religion. So that this churche which shuld be the light of all the diocese ys very darkenes, and an ensample of contempt of true religion, whome the citei and countre abought folowe apase.

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[a] Eccl. vii. 6. Ed. Tigurina.

The said deane hathe also certefied me that the vecars of the Quere, the deacons and sextons be all mortall ennemys to this religion, receivears and mayntenars of soche as themselves be.

S. Paule compareth false doctrine and religion to the kanker called *gangrena* which (except yt be quickly cured & healed) neuer ceaseth creping and infecting on part & member after another, tyll yt hath distroied the holl bodey.

Your honors by your wisdome can consider howe daungerous and perlous vnto the holl ecclesiasticall and politicall body of this dyocese this fretting and creping canker ys, when yt doth once possesse the heade churche of all the diocese. The only remedy wherof ys, that yt maie please the Quenes majestei to committe either an ordinary iurisdiction or soche auctorite as shall please her highnes, to whome yt shall please her majestei, that maie and will vrge them either to do as becommeth good christean subiectes and faithfull ministers or els to place others in their rom ther that will do accordingly.

f. 13b.

Die veneris xx die februarii a^{o} dñi 1561 pa^{d} lambeth coram Rev^{mo} patre Matheo Cantuar archiepiscopo ac Rev^{do} patre Edmundo London episcopo et Roberto Weston legum doctore commissioniariis regiis.

Hereford :

An order for Mr. William luson prebendary of Hereford and others the prebendaries ther, enyonyed vnto them by the said commissioners to be executed and red inmediatly after the reading of the homelys every daie in their order and corse.

Good people, yt ys very requisite that some publike testification be made that the ministers of the church consent and agre in on vnite of doctrine and religion, by reason wherof yt ys very well ordered in this churche agreable to the Quenes maiestes iniunctyons that the principall ministers of the same shuld so do by preching, reading of homelys and other declaration, that no scruple shuld remayne in the myndes of the people of any difference or dissentyon to be emongst vs, and therfor for my part do willingly testefei my assent to the godly publike reformacions established by the lawes of this realme and namely in these two artikells folowing:—

A Ffirst I am in conscience persuaded that the churche of england ys a true member of the holy catholike churche. And that the Quenes maiestei ys by right and iuste title the supreme gouernor of the same churche of England next and inmediatly vnder our saveor iesus christ, bothe in matters ecclesiasticall and temporall; and that neither the bushop of rome nor any other foreine powre, potentate or prelate hathe or ought to haue any maner auctorite or iurisdictyon in or over the said churche of England.

B I am also persuaded and do confesse that the order of administracion of sacramentes, the common praires and other rytes and ceremoneis prescribed by the boke of common praire ar sincere, true and good, and consonant to the doctrine of holy scriptures, and the auncient vsage of the holy catholike churche of christ.

Item, that the said Mr. luson shall minister the communion in the cathedrall churche of hereford on some sondaie or holy daie after thende of ester weake next comming.

Item, that he shall reade the homely of salvacion on that daie or some other sondaie in the said cathedrall churche before the first daie of maye next comming, so that on of the Canons of the said churche, being no prechar, doo reade on before him, and all other canons of the said churche being no prechars to do the like in their turnes, on soche daies as ther shall be no sermon.

Concordat cum registro, William bedell.

f. 14a.

Yf your honors wold cause these formar iniunctions to be put in execution, yf the canons themselues wold not receive any good therby, yet I trust that the people shuld, or at lest this good must neades come hereof, that thei shuld discredite themselues, yf thei shuld in secret speake ayenst that which thei had confessed openly in ther churche: because I cold not get any of the canons that dwell in Hereford to reade the first homely according to the formar order, I sent in to shropshere to on Parson Normcrote,[a] a canon of that church of Hereford, to come and reade an homely according to the said order: who did yt, and that very well: whervpon I thought that Mr. luson & the rest wold have folowed but thei did not, nor never will except thei be forced by auctorite & cetera.

Endorsed: To the moste honorable the Quenes maiestes privei cownsell my veraie good lordes.

f. 15a.

Blessed be the almighty and everlasting god, in whose handes ar the hartes of all kynges and princes, who hath moved the harte of our most gratiouse Soverayne, and the hartes of her maiestes most honorable cownsell, to consyder in tyme the state of goddes true religion, daungerously declyning in the most partes of the churches in this realme. Our heavenly father who hath moved her maiestes harte and yours also graunt your Maiesti and you all her honorable cownsell, as godly courage as god wisshed and gave to Moses, Josue, David and oþers his godly gouernours, to thintent this realme may be blessed, and goddys holy name glorified, *et vos reportetis immarcessibilem gloriae coronam.*[b] Now for answere to your honours letter. Towching the Justices in Cambridge shyre, I haue conferred with Mr. Chicheley, Mr. Hutton, Mr. Hynde and Mr. Pygot. Towching the Justices of the Isle of Ely, I haue conferred with Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Dixon and Mr. Adam. Towching the Justices for Cambridge, I haue conferred with Dr. Hawforde, Dr. Ithel, Dr. Stokes, Dr. Kelke, & William Mownsey now Maior, and in Cambridge it is most requisite to have Justices of good religion. And as I can learne, there ar iii sortes of Justices concerning godly religion, sum good, whom I haue noted with this letter "g." Sum conformable, whom I haue noted with this letter "c." Sum mislyked, apon whom I haue sett no signe. And because your honours do requyre me to signifie whom I thinke most mete for service that way, who commonly serue in the quorum, I have enterprised to note my fansye with this letter "q" apon their heads, who ar thought metest. And further because your pleasure is, that if I consyder of any other thing, tending to your godly meaning for the redresse of this disorder, I shulde signifie the same to your honours, I have noted my poore opinion in a by papyr, to be expended of your wisdoms. And thus I trust I haue answered your honours expectation after my rude maner. Ffor my parte I will after my poore witt and vnderstanding travaile according to your most godly meaning, and call apon god with my harty prayers, alwayes to assiste you in this most nedeful busynes. The lorde Jesus prosper all your godly affayers. Ffrom Ely the vi^th^ of Nouember, 1564.

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[a] Roger Normecote, collated 23 March, 1560-1. Le Neve, i. 505.

[b] 1. Peter v. 4.

Youre honours to commaunde,

RICHARDE ELY.[a]

f. 16.

Commissioners for the peace with in the countye of Cambrydge:

q. c. Edwarde Lord Northe of Kellynge; *q. c.* Sir Gyles Alyngton of Horshed; Sir Robert Chester of Royston; *q. g.* Sir Roger Northe; Sir John Coton of Landnad ; *q. c.* Barnet Ffrevell of Shelforde ;

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[a] Cox.

q. c. Mr. Robert Payton of Isleam; *g.* Mr. Frauncys Hynde of Madingley; *g.* Mr. Henrye Pygot of Abyngton; *q. g.* Mr. John Hutton of Drydrayton; *c.* Mr. Jhon Myllecent of Berham;[a] Mr. Thomas Homes of Barrogrene; *q. g.* Mr. Chycheley not in commission.

Commissioners for the peace in the Isle of Elye:
q. g. Mr. Antonye Stapleton cheffe iustyce hear.

Commissioners resiant with in the Isle:
g. Mr. Gefferey Colvill of Newton; *q. g.* Mr. Robert Balam of Wysbichē; *g.* Mr. Edwarde stewarde of Chatteresse; *g.* Mr. Thomas Wren of Hadnam; *q. g.* Willyam Adam of Tyd; *g.* Mr. William Bryan of Leueryngton; *q. g.* Mr. William Hopkyns of Elye; *g.* Mr. Raffe Dyxon of Duddyngton.

Commissioners of peace not resiant in the Isle:
g. Mr. ffrauncys Hynde; *c.* Mr. Robert Payton; *g.* Mr. Henrye Reppys; *c.* Mr. Rycharde Payton; *g.* Mr. William Thorneton; *g.* William Adam of Ely, mete to be in commission; *q. g.* Dr. Ithell chauncelar to the Bysshope.

Commissioners for the peace in Cambrydge:
The vycechauncelar and the mayor for the tyme beynge.
Jhon Porye[b] Dr. of Diuinitye; *c.* Henrye Hervey,[b] D. of Lawe; Alexander Raye, Alderman; *g.* Robert Shutt, recorder;[c] Phylyp baker, D. of Dyuynytye; *q. g.* Thomas Ventris, Alderman; *c.* Henrye Searle,[d] Alderman; *g.* Roger Slegge,[d] Alderman.

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[a] All these signed the Act of Uniformity, 1569.

[b] Signed the Act of Uniformity.

[c] M.P. 1571. See Cooper's *Annals*.

[d] Enquiries on their conduct in *State Papers*, Addenda, 1564, No. 29, p. 553. See too *State Papers*, September 14 and October 24, 1564.

Men mete for the commission there:

q. g. Dr. Hawforde, Master of Christes college; *q. g.* Dr. Bewmant, Master of Trynytye college; *q. g.* W. Mounsey nowe maior; *g.* Dr. Stokes, Master of Quenes College. The multitude of Justices thought not nedefull.

Endorsed: To the Quenes Maiestes most honorable cownsell.

f. 18a.

My dewtie first accordinglie remembered to your honours. Hit may please the same to be aduertisedd that for the accomplisshinge of your pleasures vttered vnto me in the lettres, which I receaved the xxth daye of October last paste, I haue conferred with certen archdecons Comissaries ande Officialls exercisinge iurisdiction within the precincte of my office whom I know to be men bothe learned and honeste, and likewise to have good knowledge bothe of them that are in auctoritie and in commission for the peace at this present in the place where they exercise iurisdiction ande also of others, beinge owte of commission, who in their opinions are meete to be called [a] therevnto. The effecte ensuinge of that owre conference your honours shall perceaue by the shedells or papers herevnto annexed. In the which allso I haue written certen articles, which in my opinion may serue for remedies of certen disorders, levinge the same to your godly consideracions ande commendinge yowr honors to the blessed gouermente of all myghtie godd. Ffrom Bugden this viith of November 1564.

Your honours to commaunde

N. LINCOLN.[b]

f. 20a.

Lincoln:

Justices of pece there:

Richard Dismy, armiger, Edmund Hall, armiger, Robert Carr, esquier, Anthonie Harrold, earnest in religion.

Roberte Dymocke, esquier, Roberte Harringtonne, mort,[c] esquier, William Tharrold, esquier, hinderers.

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[a] A word illegible.

[b] Nicholas Bullingham.

[c] Note in Burleigh's hand.

Kesteven:

Richard Bartie, esquier, Thomas Saintpoll, esquier, Johñ Aelmer, archdeacon of lincoln, Thomas Godwine, canon residenciarie of lincoln, William Porter, esquier, Charles Wynfeld, gent, Richard Meares, armiger, James Harrington, gent., Earnest in relligion and to be trusted there.

Justices of peace there:

Adland Welbie, esquier, Hunston, esquier, Johnne Manne, gent., earnest in relligion.

Leonard Irbie, gent., Holland, esquier, Ogle, gent., indifferent.

Holland:

Richard Bartie, esquier, Thomas Saintpoll, esquier, John Aelmer, Archdecon of lincoln, Thomas Godwine, canon residenciary of lincoln, Edmundd Lyall, esquier, William Derbie, esquier, Laurence Meares, esquier, Earnest in relligion and to be trusted there.

f. 20b.

Justices of peace:

Sir Richard Thimelbie, knyght, Sir William Skipwith, knight, Thomas Saintpoll, esquier, Roberte Mounson, esquier, Laurence Meares, esquier, Adland Welbie, esquier, Earnest in relligion

Sir Edward Dymocke, knight, Richard Bolles, esquier, Charles Willoughbie, esquier, Cristofer Wraw,[a] esquier, James Smyth, esquier, Tristrame Tirwhite, esquier, William Manbie, esquier, Antonie Tomeney,[b] esquier, Richard Craicroft, esquier, Indifferent.

Sir Roberte Tirwhite, knight, Johnne Copledicke, esquier, Humfrey Litlebury, esquier, hinderers.

Richard Bartie, esquier, John Aelmer, Archdeacon of Lincoln, Thomas Godwine, canon residenciary of lincoln, Thomas Morrisonne, gent., earnest in relligion and fitt to be trusted there.

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[a] ? Wraye, in S. P., ii. 17.

[b] ? Tourney, in S. P., ii. 17.

f. 21a.

Countie of the citie of Lincoln:

Aldermen there:

Iohn Hutchinson, Maior, Nicholas Ffawkoner, earnest in relligion.

Thomas Wright, George Stampe, William Goodknap, William Kent,[a] George Porter,[b] Ffulbecke,[c] Leon Ellys,[d] indifferent.

Richard Carter,[e] William Scolfeld,[f] Edward Hallelary,[g] hinderers.

Martine Hollingwourth, late alderman, veray earnest in relligion, honest and pollitique.

The names of them with whom I haue conferredd:

Mr. Jhon Aelmar, archedecon of lincoln, Mr. Thomas Taylor, regester, Mr. Thomas Sainctepoll, esquyer.

f. 21b.

The Corporacion of Grauntham, Comburgisies (*sic*):

Roger Jonsonne, Thomas Tilson,[h] John Tailor, earnest in relligion.

Simon Hanson, Gabriel Best, John Picke, Thomas Sympson, Robert Gibbon, indifferent.

Humfrey Duckar, alderman, George Atkinson, Roberte Wright, John Brotherton, Edward Mortonne, hinderers.

f. 22a.

Bedfordshere:

All Justices now in commission:

Lewes Mordent,[i] esquyer, Lewes Dyve,[i] esquier, Thomas pygott, esquier, John Thomson,[i] esquier, Thomas Leigh,[i] esquier, Robert Nedegate,[i] esquier, Earnest in religion.

Humfrey Ratliff,[i] knight, Peter Gray,[i] esquier, Raulf Astrye,[i] esquier, indifferent.

John Gascoyne,[i] knight, John Cowlbeck,[i] esquier, John Ffuller,[i] esquier, hinderers.

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[a] Mayor 1572. See Lincoln, names of Mayors, &c.

[b] Mayor 1575.

[c] Mayor 1565.

[d] Mayor 1572.

[e] Mayor 1577.

[f] Mayor 1576.

[g] Mayor 1567.

[h] Robert Gibbon scratched out.

[i] All in Pat. Roll., 6 Eliz., pt. 3, mem. 1.

Henry Cheney, knight, Reynold Grey, esquier, John Burgoyne, esquier, John Swifte, esquier, Thomas Snager, esquier, Henry Ackworth, gent., earnest in religion and fytt to be trusted.

The Corporacion of Bedford. Out of Comission:

Thomas Leigh esquier, Thomas Dyve gent., Earnest in religion.

Rycherd Laurence, William Bull, hinderers.

Henry Laurence, Alexander Hunt, Earnest in religion and fytt to be trusted.

The names of them with whom I have conferred:

Maister Addams, minister, Maister leighe, esquyer.

f. 22b.

Huntingdonshyre:

All Justices now in Comission:

Robert Tyrwhit, knight, Rychard Darington, esquier, earnest in religion.

Laurence Tallard, knight, William Laurence, esquier, Gylbert Smithe, esquier, Robert Fforest, esquier, indifferent in religion.

Thomas Cotton, esquier, a hinderer of religion.

Oute of Comission:

Henry[a] Cromwell, knight, William Mallary, esquier, Thomas Worlege, gent., Robert Awdeley, gent., earnest in religion and fytt to be trusted.

Thauncient of the corporacion of Huntingdon:

William Symcotes, gent., Thomas Harrys, Robert Blyncthorne, John Turpen, earnest in religion.

Henry Dackham, gent., William Wallys, William Bushe, John Rychardes, hinderers in religion.

Charles Rigges, Rychard Mayre, Anthony Dixon, indifferent in religion.

[a] Henry scratched out.

I haue conferred with maister William Slaed, comyssary for this shere.

f. 23a.

Hertfordshere:

Justices and now in comission:

John Brockett, esquier, George Horsey, esquier, Thomas Dockwray esq., Rowland Lutton, esq., Nycholas Bristow, esq., earnest in religion.

John Butler, knight, John Twyneo, esquier, Mr. Burgoyne, esq., Mr. Purvey, esquyer, hinderers of religion.

Oute of Comission:

Mr. Tucke, esquier, John Nedam, esq., earnest in religion & fyt to be trusted.

I haue conferred for this shere with Mr. William Slayd, comissarie and Maister smythe, minister.

f. 24a.

Leicestershire :

All Justices nowe in commission :

Sir Thomas Nevell of Holt, knight, George Hastinges, esquier, Adriane Stookes de Barrowe, esquier, Ffrancisce Cave de Baggrave, esquier, Briane Cave de Ingersbie, esquier, George Turpyn de Knaptoft, esquier, Nicholas Beamount de Coloverton, esquier, Brokesbie de Sholbie, esquier, Leonard Dannett de dannet hall, esquier, Ffrancisce Broune de Kilbie, esquier, earnest in religion.

Mighell Purefey, esquier, George Vincent de peckleton, esquier, Smyth de dalbie parva, esquier, indifferent.

William Skevington de Skevington armiger, hinderer; Maurice Bartley de Womendham, esquier, indifferent; Laurence Saunders, gent., hinderer.

Mr. Outreade de Burton lazars, esquier, learned and wise, William Blounte de Osbaston, gent., Thomas Roose de Lutterwourth, gent., Thomas Ashebie de Losebie, gent., Thomas Brahm de Barrowe, gent., John Nowell de Willesborough, gent., Temple de ead[em], gent., earnest in relligion and fitt to be trusted.

f. 24b.

The Corporacion of Leicestre. Annceantes of the Corporacion there:

William Manbie, Johnne Hericke,[a] Richard Davie,[b] Darker,[c] Inglish,[d] Clarke,[e] Gillott[f] senior, earnest in religion.

Halame,[g] Raignoldes,[h] Stamford,[i] Tatham,[j] indifferent

Nix, Maior,[k] Ffletcher, Ffowler,[l] Morice,[m] hinderers.

The names of them with whom I haue conferred:

Maister John Aelmer, Maister Thomas Larke, comissary and officall.

f. 26a.

Buckinghamshyre:

Justices and now in comission:

Paule Darrell, esquier,[n] Thomas Pygott, esquier,[o] Thomas Fflitwood, esq.,[p] John Cheney of Amersham,[q] Mr. Cade of Dorney, John Doyley, esquier, Willelmus Day, prepositus Eton, Thomas Tyrringham, esq.

William Garrett, knight, Edmund Ashfield, esquier,[r] John Goodwyn, esquier,[s] Nicholas West, esquier,[t] William Hawtree, esquier,[u] Richard Hamden, esquier, indifferent in religion.

Robert Drurye, knight,[v] Edmund Wyndzore, esq., John Cheney of Chessham boyes,[w] hinderers of religion.

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[a] J. Thompson, Leicester, p. 251, gives him as Mayor, 1572.

[b] *Ib.*, 1563, 1575.

[c] *Ib.*, 1560.

[d] *Ib.*, 1570.

[e] *Ib.*, 1569.

[f] *Ib.*, 1571.

[g] *Ib.*, 1561, 1574.

[h] *Ib.*, 1562.

[i] *Ib.*, 1573.

[j] *Ib.*, 1567, 1577.

[k] *Ib.*, 1564.

[l] *Ib.*, 1565.

[m] ? Noryce, *ib.*, 1579.

[n] Lipscombe, I. xvii., High Sheriff, 1562.

[o] *Ib.*, 1570.

[p] *Ib.*, 1563.

[q] *Ib.*, 1567.

[r] High Sheriff, 1568.

[s] *Ib.*, 1561.

[t] Signed the Act of Uniformity.

[u] High Sheriff, 1558; signed the Act.

[v] High Sheriff, 1560; signed the Act.

[w] High Sheriff, 1565.

Oute of Comission :

Henry Lee, knight, Thomas Packington, knight, Robert Stafford, knight, William Fflitwood of the temple, Robert Mordant, gent., Rychard Craiford, gent., Roger Alford, gent.,[a] John Purefrey, gent., John Burlacye, gent.,[b] Wiliam Shepherd, gent., Mr. Croke of Chilton, gent.,[c] Paule Wentford, gent., earnest in religion & fitt to be trusted.

f. 25b.

Thomas Pigott, esquier,[d] Mr. Tyrill, esquier, Rychard Hichcok, gent., Alexander Denton, gent., Mr. Harcote of lechamstede, William Cornewalle, gent., William Biseley, gent., Thomas Rede, gent., Thomas Wayneman, gent., William Clarke, gent., Robert Newdegate, gent., Walter Wynzore, esq., William Wyndzore, esquier, Mr. Pymme, Baron of thexchecour, Rychard Payne, esquier, indifferent in religion.

Robert Peckham, knight,[e] William Dormer, knight,[f] Robert Pygott, gent., Thomas Gifford, esq., Mr. Hamdon of Hartwell, Mr. Scrope of Hambledon, Davy Pen, gent., John Newdegate, gent., George Hansley, George Peckham, gent.,[g] Edward Ardes, gent., Rychard Ffarmer, gent., Ralf Haydon, gent., Mr. Rookes of Ffawley, hinderers of religion.

These bee they with whom I did conferre :

John Longland, Archdeacon of Buckingham, John Cheney, esquier, Mr. Ffyssher, preacher.

f. 27a.

Remedies for disorders :

1. A comission to be graunted to certen chosen persons bothe of the Clergie and laitie to extende as well to places exempte as not

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[a] Signed the Act. " Mr." is corrected to " Roger."

[b] Signed the Act.

[c] High Sheriff, 1574.

[d] High Sheriff, 1570.

[e] Died at Rome, IV., 451.

[f] High Sheriff, 1567.

[g] High Sheriff, 1572.

exempte, within liberties and withoute, for reformacions of disorders in religion.

2. That the said comissioners haue auctoritie to reform all suche papisticall orders and vsages in cathedrall and collegiat cherches as by theire discrecion shall appeere woorthie reformacion.

3. Som conuenyente order to be taken with the romisshe sectuaries, as well beinge in durance as straglinge abrode, for reformacion of theire obstinacie which dothe mvtche harm amongste the people of god and the queen her maiestes subiectes.

4. The iustices of peas to be charged to be present at everie quarter sessions where they shall cawse the articles, accorded vpon for vniformitie in religion, to be openly redd and then to be confyrmed and allowed of by theire severall actes in subscribinge openly to the same.

5. That thenqueste then to be panyelled may be charged to certifie in theire veredictes all suche whom they shall learn to maynteyn any contrarie opinion, and that the forsaid comissioners may haue auctoritie to reforme suche offendours accordinglie.

6. That the archedecon comissarie and officiall or the woorthiest of them may be in the commission of peas with in the circute of his office and that the same haue in charge to be presente at everie quarter sessions, where on of them or som other learned man vpon theire appointement, shall make a sermon concerninge the setting forthe of the doctrin conteyned in the said articles.

f. 27b.

To everie cathedrall cherche the dean and residensaries shall by coarse make everie of them ones in a quarter a sermonde. And in the same, after the prayers, shall read openly and distinctly the said articles of religion allowinge then of the same by his open confession and shall allure others therevnto.

Endorsed: To the moste honorable lordes of the queen her maiestes priuie cowncell.

f. 30.

Certayne brefe notes of your honors to be considered :[a]

1. Ffirst the learned aduersaries being ecclesiasticall persons to be ether banished or sequestred from conference with such as be fawtors of there religion, or elles the othe to be tendred vnto them. Forthwith, considering thei haue so litle passed of the Quenes maiesties clemencye, to them shewed these six yeares, whereby it doth appeare that they be more stubburne & more incoraged than thei ware before.

2. Item, that the stragling doctors & priestes who haue libertie to stray at there pleasures within this realme do much hurte secrettlye and in corners, therefore it weare good that thei might be called before the highe commissioners and to shew there conformitie in religion by subscrybing or open recantacion or elles to be restrayned from there said libertie.

3. Item, a proclamation to be sett forth by the quenes maiesties aucthoritie, to represse the bold talk and bragges of the aduersaries of good religion, and by the same proclamation that the ministers of goddes word might be incoraged to vse there function without feare, who be now in a manner nothing estemed.

4. Item, a commission to be awarded as the highe commissioners haue at London at this present, whearein the bysshopp of the diocesse and other lerned men & good gentellmen might haue aucthoritie bothe to inquyre and reforme the aduersaries of good religion and to represse the fawtors of the same.

5. Item, whereas Regesters for the most parte haue there office by patent being corrupt in religion, who do more hurte knowing the state of the diocesse and being in greate estimacion with the aduersaries of good religion then the prechers are able to do good otherwayes, therefore it weare mete that the bysshopp might haue aucthoritie to remove them owt of there roomes allowing them a certayne resonable stypend and to place theim that did favor the setting forth of good religion.

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[a] This appears to be from the Bishop of Peterborough, Edmund Scambler.

6. Item, whereas the chefe Constables of euerye hundred which be ringe leders of the people and whom the people haue in greate credytt and for the most parte be fawtors of naughtie religion, that it might be provyded that the commissioners by the consent of the the bysshopp, vppon iust occasion might haue aucthoritie to remove them and to place other in there places.

7. Item, there be diuerse gentellmen of euell religion that kepe scholemasters in there houses privatelye, who be of corrupt iudgementes and do exceding greate hurte as well in those houses where thei teaches as in the Countrie abrode abought them, that it might be provyded that the sayd gentellmen should not kepe privatelye in there houses no maner of scholemasters but ssuch as should be examined by the bysshop of the diocesse and admitted thereunto by licence vnder his seale of office.

f. 30b.

8. Item, that the Prebendaries of euerye Cathedrall churche maye be inforced by aucthoritie to make a manifest and open declaration of there faithe before the congregacion by thappoyntment of the Bysshopp of the diocesse, and in there said declaracion to sett forthe the aucthoritie of this religion by parliament established and by goddes word confirmed, and that thei do openly professe and geve there consent to the same, detesting all other religion to the contrarye, and also shall subscrybe to the articles of Religion agreed vppon in the presence of the Bysshopp and other commissioners appoynted for the reformacion of religion.

f. 31b.

Comitatus Northamton :

Nowe in the commission of the peace :

Sir Walter Myldmaye, knight, Sir Roberte Lawe, knight, Mr. Edwarde Mountague, esquyer, Edmonde Elmes, esquier, George lynne, Mr. Moungomerye, Mr. Wattes, esquiers, earnest furtherers of religion.

Mr. Ffrauncys Saunders, esquyer, Thomas Spencer, esquyer, indifferent in religion.

Nowe in the commission of the peace :

Mr. Valentyne Knightley, Sir John Spencer, Sir Thomas Gryffyn, Sir John Ffarmer, knightes, Edwarde gryffyn, Mr. Catesbye of Whyshyn, Thomas Lovett, esquiers, greate letters of religion.

And now owt of the commission of the peace :

Edmounde Brudenell, John Wake, esquiers, John ffosbrooke, Bartholomew Tate, Jhon Pyckeryng, Mr. Coope of cannonsashbye, John Dreyden,[a] James Crewes,[b] Roberte Pemberton, gentellmen, Mr. Anthonye Burton, bachelor of diuinitie and chancellor of Peterboroughe, earnest furtherers of religion and worthie to be trusted.

f. 32a.

Burgh Socon being a peculiar libertie :

Esquiers and now in the commission of the peace of that libertie.

Roberte Wyngfelde thelder, Fraunceys Quarles, Roberte Wyngfelde the younger, Roberte Browne, earnest furtherers of Religion.

Jhon Mounstwing, gentellman, a greate letter of religion, and now in commission for the peace within the same libertie.

Peter Kemppe, gentellman, an earnest furtherer of Religion within the same libertie, and now owt of the commission of the peace.

The Corporacion of Northampton :

Mr. Bawgye, Mr. Cole, earnest furtherers of religion and now in the commission of the peace within the same towne.

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[a] Jhon Wake, scratched out.

[b] Wake corrected to Crewes.

Conitatus (sic) Rutland :

James Harrington esquyer, earnest furtherer of religion and now in the commission of the peace there.

Mr. Dyckbye of Stoke, indifferent in religion.

Mr. Anthony Collye, Mr. John Hunt, Mr. Calcott, esquyers, greate hynderers of religion and now in commission of the peace there.

Mr. Anthonye Burton, Bachelir of divinitie and Chancellor of Peterburgh, Mr.   Mackworth, Mr. Jhon Harrington of Exton, Mr. Fflowre of Whytwell, earnest furtherers of religion there & worthy to be trusted, and now owt of the commission of the peace there.

f. 34a.

Right honorable, after my most humble commendations, it maye please your honors to understand, that upon your honours letters lately directed unto me, I have considered of the Justices for the peace wythin the counties of Wiltshyre, and Barkshire, whiche counties bothe lye wythin the dioces committed to my charge, and in seueral schedles haue noted owt bothe theire names and dwellinge places, and also theire sundrie inclinations towardes the furtherance of Goddes truethe, and that sincerely, and uprightly, and wythout al partialitie, accordinge to the trust that your honours haue reposed in me toutchinge the same, wherin also I haue used thaduise of sutche gentlemen as in the seueral schedles unto your honours maye appeare. Thus I humbly take my leaue and wyshe unto your honours the sprite of wysedome, and thencrease of Goddes grace.

From my poore house in Sarum, 9 Nouemb. 1564.

Your honours most humble

Jo. Sarum.[a]

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[a] Jewell.

f. 35a.

The names of the Justices for the peace wythin Wiltshire :

John Meruin of Fountel, knight, No hinderer ; John Thinne of Longleate, knight, A furtherer earnest; John Zouche of Ansty, knight, A furtherer earnest; George penruddock of Iuychurche, A furtherer earnest; Nicolas Snel of Kington S. Michaelis, No hinderer; Edward Baynton of Rowdon, No hinderer ; Edward Baynard of Lakeham, A furtherer earnest; Henry Sharington of Lacocke, A furtherer earnest; Richard Kingesmyl of Ouerton, A furtherer earn(est); Jo. Sainctjohn of Lidiard, No hinderer; Jo. Byre of Chalfyld, No hinderer; Christofer Willugbee of Litle Knoel, No hinderer; Christofer Dodington of Meere, A furtherer; Jo. Berwike of Wilcote, No hinderer; Jo. Hooper of Sarum, No hinderer ; Giles Thistlethwaite of Winterslowe, A furtherer; Henry Boddinham of Fulstone, No hinderer.

Other gentlemen of your honours to be consydered :

George Ludlowe, a furtherer, Laurence Hyde, a furtherer, Henry Clyfford, a furtherer, Al wyse and politique and hable to serue.

Wyth thaduise of Sir Jo. Zouche.

f. 36a.

The names of Justices for the peace wythin the Countie of Berkshyre :

Henry Neuil of Ruscombe, knight, A furtherer earnest; Richard Warde of Hurste, as it ys supposed no hinderer ; Thomas Welden of Cookham, A furtherer; Thomas Stafford of Bradfild, A furtherer; John Winchcombe of Bucklebury, A furtherer; Edmund plowden of Shiplake, as it ys supposed a hinderer ; Jo. Cheyney of Woodhay, A furtherer; Griffith Curteis of Greenham, A furtherer earnest; Roger Yonge of Bastyldeane, A furtherer earnest; William[a]

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[a] Cor. from Jo.

Dunche of Litle Wittenham, A furtherer earnest; Jo. Fetiplace of Beselslygh, A furtherer; Robert Kelaway of Shallingford, A furtherer; William Hyde of Denchworthe, No furtherer.

Jo. Yate of Buckland, neuer yet received the holy Communion sythence the beginninge of the quenes maiesties reigne, and therefor nowe excommunicate, and returned into the kinges bench for the same.

One gentleman of your honours to be consydered:
Edmund Dokwra, of Chamberhouse,[a] a furtherer and learned.

Wythe thaduise of John Winchecombe and Griffith Curteis.

Endorsed: To the right honorable and my singular good Lordes, the Lordes of the queenes maiesties most honorable privy councel.

f. 38a.

Right honorable & my very good lordes, with all humblenes these may be to signify vnto you, that having receaved the xxvi^th^ day of October last, your honores letteres, bearing date the xvii^th^ day of the same monethe, according to my bounden duety, with all speed and diligence that I cold vse in suche diepnes of waies, and distance of the persones from me with whom I might confer, I have endevoured my self taccomplishe your commaundement, and answer your expectation in certifying of suche Justices of the peace as ar communly resiaunt within the severall shyres of my Dioces or Jurisdiction. Wherin for my better procieding, I first vsed the counsell of Mr. Nowell, Dean of Lichfield & James Weston, my Register, men godly & zelous, of longer continuance, and therby of more knolege and experience in my Dioces than I; by whose advyse I sent for suche persones as were thoght most miet, for love to Justice & zeal for religion, to confer with for suche effect as in your honoures letteres is specified, and so vsing & folowing their advise to that end, I have first simply made certificate after the same, adding consequently that opinion which I have of them severally conceived, by commun reporte of suche credible men as I have to do with in my dioces, and myn oun daily experience: Partly that your honores may vnderstand the opinion of those with whom I have conferred, and partly what I here & vnderstand of them by commun reporte of good men otherwys. And wheras your honoures moved me to advertise you of any other thinges tending to the redres of disorderes within my dioces, ffor the county of Stafford where my habitation is, by meanes wherof I have better vnderstanding of the commun doinges then in other places, thies few thinges I have to signify, vnder your honores correction.

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[a] Inserted.

ffirst, for the county of Stafford bicaus ther be not many learned men in the same, it is thoght a great hinderance to Justice, that they which be lerned & Justices, ar also commun counselleres in the shyr, by which meanes ether the Quenes maiestie is not faithfully served or the clientes not iustly helped; of thies I here diverse complain.

Secondly, the number of attorneis, frequenting the assizes and sessiones at Stafford, are iuged to bried and norishe matters of stryf & contention betwien party & party for their lucre sake: which if it might be otherwys helped, is thoght good to many men.

Thirdly, wheras the cuntry is to miche hinderly in all good thinges perteining to religion, yet the abyding of Doctor Poole, late bishop of Peterboro, in that shyr with Bryan ffowler, esquier, a litle from Stafford, causeth many pieple think wurs of the regiment & religion then els they wold doo, bicaus that diverse lewd priestes have resort thither: but what conferens they have, I can not learn. Wherfor if it pleas your honores to remove him from thens, you shall doo miche good to the cuntry, and frustrate thexpectation of evill disposed persones.

ffourthly, I have bien moved diverse tymes by many godly men, to labour vnto the Quenes maiestie or to your honores for a commission, wherby I might better do my deuty, for that many offenderes ar ether born with by M[aster]ship, which I alone can not redres, or els fly into exempt places & peculiar Jurisdictiones and so avoid ordinary correction, not without great offence and slaunder bothe of the gospell & ministeres therof, which thing I refer to your godly wisdom to consider as occasion shall move you.

f. 38b.

Last of all, the greatest disorder within my hool Dioces, hathe bien in great tounes corporate; for there when I have required thassistaunce of the bailiffes or other officeres, I have found open resistance in matteres of charge, wherof it is niedfull to place good men in office there; & yet presently I am not able to make certificate who be best affected in those tounes, for that many of them ar visited with the plage. And therfore thies may be to desyr your good honores to take this certificate in good parte, even so committing the same to the mighty & mercifull protection of almighty God, who kiep you all in long, peacefull and helthfull lyf.

this xth of November 1564, at Eccleshall Castle.

Your good honores with all humblenes and obedience to command
THOMAS COVEN. & LICH.[a]

f. 40a.

An Information or Certificate made to the Quiens maiesties most honorable privy Counsell by Thomas, Bishop of Coventry & Lichfield of all the Justices of peace resiaunt within the severall shyres of his Dioces, and of suche persones as ar miet to be called to the said office as folowethe. Novembris, 10, a° 1564.

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[a] Bentham.

Of Stafford shyr, after thadvice of Thomas Wirley, John Lane & Roger ffoulk, esquieres.

The Lord Viscount Hereford of Chearkley, The Lord Stafford of Stafford Castell, The Lord Dudley of Womburn, Sir William Snede of Broodwall, knight, Sir George Blunt of Knightley, knight, Sir Raffe Bagnall of Delacres, knight, Humfrey Wells of Horecros, esquier, Raffe Okover of Okover, esquier, Thomas Wirley of Hamstede, esquier, Edmund James of Corbenes, esquier, John Leveson of Wolverhampton, esquier, Rafe Adderley of the Holt, esquier, Bryan ffowler of the Manor of Sowe, esquier, miet to continue in office.

Sir Edward Aston of Tixall, knight, Sir William Greisley of Colton, knight, Simon Harecourt of Ranton, esquier, a knot hurtfull to Justice & great Mainteincres.

Henry Vernon of Hilton, esquier, an adversary of relligion.

Sir Edward Litleton of Piliknoll, knight, Sir Raffe Egerton of Wreinhill, knight, John Rottesley of Rottesley, esquier, John Lane of Hyde, esquier, Roger ffoulke of Gonstone, esquier, miet to be called to the office.

f. 40b.

The Bishopes advise & opinion for the Justices of Staffordshyr as foloweth.

Althogh by thopinion of those men whose advyse I vsed for Stafford shyr, dyversmen be thoght miet to continue in office, of whom I hear litle commendacion otherwys, Thies may signify vnto your honoures that by the common report of many men godly & credible & by that knowlege & vnderstanding that I have, thies persones folowing, viz.:—

Sir William Snede, knight, Sir George Blount, knight, Humfrey Wels, esquier, John Leveson, esquier, Rafe Adderley, esquier, Bryan ffowler, esquier, ar accounted of good men adversaries to religion & no favoureres therof, nether in died nor woorde.

Concerning the hurtfull knot & Henry Vernon esquier, I nied say no more. Ffor I looke that that which is by otheres confessed wilbe laid to my charge, if you stand not my good Lordes.

As touching suche persones as ar thoght miet to be called to the office, I have nothing to say to the contrary bicaus I hear well of them all.

The best learned in the county of Stafford.

Thomas Wirley of Hamsted, Edmund James of Corbenes, Roger ffoulk of Gunstone, no Justice as yet, favoureres of Relligion & Lerned.

Humfrey Wells of Horecros, Rafe Adderley of the Holt, Bryan Ffowler of the manor of Sowe, no favoureres of Religion but better learned than the rest.

f. 41a.

Of Darbyshyr, after thadvyse of Sir Thomas Kockein Knight, Waltar Horton, esquier, & Aden Berisford, esquier, as foloweth :—

Sir John Zouche[a] of Codner castle, knight, Sir William Sentlow of Chattesworth, knight, Sir George Vernon of nether Haddon, knight, Sir Ffrauncis Leke[a] of Sutton, knight, Sir Thomas Cockein[a] of Ashburn, knight, Godfrey ffuliambe[a] of Walton, esquier, Thomas Stanhope[b] of Aibley, esquier, Thomas Sutton of Over Haddon, esquier, James Hardwik[b] of Hardwik, esquier, Antony Gell of Hopton, esquier, miet to continew in office.

Sir Humfrey Bradborn[c] of Lee, knight, Henry Vernon of Sudbery, esquier, adversaries to religion.

Richard Blakwall[d] of Caik, a lawier, Godfrey Boswell[e] of Beighton, esquier, miet to be omitted.

Walter Horton of Catton, esquier, George Curson of Croxall, esquier, Thomas Kniveton[f] of Mirkaston, esquier, Richard Wenslow of Wenslow, esquier, Aden Berisford of Bently, esquier. Late

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[a] Signed for the supremacy.

[b] Absent at the signing.

[c] Sheriff, 1563, 1574. Other sheriffs were Zouche, Leke, Cockein, ffuliambe, Stanhope.

[d] Not a Justice, 1569.

[e] Signed the supremacy, 1569.

[f] A Justice, 1569.

Sacheverell of Staunton or Radburn, good men & miet to be called to office.

f. 41b.

The bishopes advyse concerning the Justices of Darbyshyr.

Concerning the certificate made before, I judge all very well done, according to my knolege and vnderstanding save only in two persones viz :—

Sir George Vernon,[a] knight, is knowen to be a great Jester at Religion as well as in all other thinges.

Also I have a good opinion of Mr. Blakwall, a man of good learning with whom I have diverse tymes talked & so do lyke well of him and think him miet to continew in office.

And as touching those which are thoght miet to be called to the office, they all have a good reporte bothe for civill Justice and favour to religion as any men that I know or hear of.

Anthony Gell[b] of Hopton, esquier, is accounted learned.

f 42a.

Of the countie of Salop, after thadvyse of Sir Andrew Corbet knight, Sir Richard Newport, knight, and George leigh, Bailiff of Salop, as foloweth :

In diocesem Coventry etc. :

Justice Corbet of Stoake super Tern, Sir Andrew Corbet[c] of Mourton Corbet, knight, Sir Richard Newport[c] of Arcoll Magna, knight, Sir Arthur Manwayring[c] of Hightfield, knight, Richard Corbet of Painton,[c] esquier, Georg Bramley of Worfield, esquier, James Barker of Haghmond, esquier, Adam Otley[c] of Pitchford, esquier, Thomas Scriven[c] of ffrodisley, esquier, Humfrey Onslow of Salop, miet to continew in office.

Extra diocesem Coventry:

Edward Leighton[c] of Wattelsboro, esquier, Simon Kensey of the

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[a] Not a Justice, 1569.

[b] Signed the supremacy, 1569.

[c] Signed the Act of Uniformity.

Okes, esquier, Thomas Powell[a] of Whittington, esquier, Lewis Johnes[a] of Bishopes castell, esquier, Charles ffox of Bramhill, esquier, Richard Cornwall[a] of Burford, esquier, miet to continew in office.

William Charlton of Wombridge, esquier, William Yong of Kainton, esquier, Thomas Eton of Eton, esquier, William Gatacre[a] of Gatacre, esquier, adversaries of religion.

Robert Corbet of Stannerton, esquier, Robert Neidham of Shenton, esquier, John Hourd of Bridgnorth esquier, George Leigh of the toun of Salop, bailif, William Gratewood of Adderley, esquier, Rafe Cliff of Wayvart, esquier, Peter Banister of Hadnall, esquier, Miet to be called to office.

f. 42b.

The bishopes advyse for the countie of Salop :

Concerning the certificate before made of the Justices of the county of Salop I iudge it to be well done, so that I can nether iustly chaunge, add or take any thing away, for that knolege which I have : and yet I do know well all the persons save only those which be extra diocesem Coventry, etc.

I know the learning of none muche reported, but of Justice Corbet, and George Bramley.

As touching the toun of Salop:

Humfrey Onslow, esquier, Edward Hosier, esquier, George Leigh, now bailif, Robert Ireland thelder, Robart Ireland the yonger, aldermen & counselleres of the toun miet to bear office, bicaus many tymes corrupt men ar chosen to be bailifes.

Thomas Aston, Scholemaster, and a worthy man emongst them.

Ffor Bridgnorth:

John Hourd esquier, a wyse and godly man.

Of Warwikshyr after thadvyse of Edward Eglamby esquier.

Sir Richard Verney of Compton Verney, knight, Thomas Lucie of Chalcot, esquier, Basill Ffielding of Munkes kirby, esquier, Clement Throckmorton of Haselye, esquier, Simon Arden of Warden, esquier, John ffisher of Packington, esquier, Edward Eglamby of Meryden, esquier, Henry Godyer of Polesworth, esquier, Good men & miet to continew in office.

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[a] Signed the Act of Uniformity.

Sir William Wigson of Woolston, knight, William Devereulx of Meryvall, esquier, Simon Rawleighe of Ffarmboro, esquier, John Hibalt of Ipsley, esquier, John Middlemore of Edgebaston, esquier, Thomas Lysley of Moxall, esquier, indifferent persones.

Sir Robert Throckmorton of Conghton,[a] knight, Thomas Throckmorton of Morehall, esquier, Michael Purefey of Calcat, esquier, no favoureres of religion.

The bishopes opinion touching the certificate made of the Justices of the county of Warwik.

Fforasmiche as myn abyding is far of frome that parte of my Dioces, and partely through good Justices of peace, & partly by the diligence of myn Archdeacon Mr. Leaver, & other Rurall Deanes, I have bien litle trobled with any matters, by meanes wherof I have not travilled so miche that way to get any vnderstanding by myn own experience. I do here confes to your honores that I iudge this former certificate made good and sufficient for that shyr. Adding this, that I wrote & sent for mo of that shyr to confer with, namely for Clement Throckmorton, esquier & Henry Goodyere, esquier, who presently be at London, or els the certificate had bene witnessed with mo.

Now if it may stand with your honores pleasure to consider of suche a commission as in my letteres is mencioned with humble (f 43b) peticion, and think the same miet to be graunted. Then thies may signify vnto you with lyke humblenes, the names of certain Ecclesiasticall persones whom I do think & iudge miet for that purpose to be Joyned with suche of the reste as your wisedomes may appoint, being noted ether as miet to continue or to be called vnto office, within this former certificate, viz. :

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[a] Corrected from Morehall.

Laurencius Nowell, Decanus Lichfield; Robertus Weston, Cancellarius Episcopi; Thomas Levir, Archidiaconus Coventry; Thomas Bickley, Theologiæ Baccalaureus; Arthurus Bedle, Legum Baccalaureus; Thomas Ashton, Clericus, Ludimaderator (*sic*) Salop; Robertus Aston, Rector de Muccleston; Petrus Morwing, Rector de Langforde; Augustinus Bernhear, Rector de Southam.

Thomas Coven. & Lich.

f. 44b.

A certificate of the Justices within the Dioces of Coventry & Lichfield.

Endorsed: To the right honorable and his very good lordes of the Quienes maiesties Privy Counsell thies be given.

f. 45a.

Suffolk.

My humble dutie vnto your honours remembred, pleaseth it the same to be advertised that having receved your honorable lettres to certefie such Justices and hed officers of the Shire of Suffolk as be eyther favorers or myslikers of the orders of this Realme established for thecclesiasticall pollicye of the same, and that I shold do the same by thadvice of such men of gravitie and knolege as I shall thinke mete for that purpose to enforme me for the vnderstonding therof, having the rule and authoritie eyther as Justices of peax or other hed officers within my Jurisdiction, being not favorable to the ordinary good procedinges of this Realme, in the orders and cawses of Religion, and likewise who they be that be well geven and mete to continew in office, with their names and dwelling places, as I haue donne for the shire of Norffolk as may farther appere to your honours by my certificat of the same,[a] and meaning to do the like for Suffolk where, perceving ther ys some discention as well for religion as otherwise, least the mallice of the one part or the other might be occasion for me to certifie more than truthe, and yet not meaning to omitt my dutie, I haue thought good to vse thonlie advice of myne officers there, by whom I vnderstond that thes persons vnderwritten are not so well bent vnto the advauncement of the godlie procedinges of this Realme in cawses ecclesiasticall as other the Justices of that Shire be: viz.: Sir Clement Higham and Sir John Tyrrell,[a] knightes. Mr. Talmach of Helmingham, Mr. Robert Gosnall of Otley, Mr. John Sowthwell of Bartham, Mr. Ffoster of Copdock, Mr. Payne of Burie, Mr. Barbour, baylif of ypsewich, and yet I must testefie as in my certificat of Norffolk that I nether know or yet can lerne probablie of anie fact, that eyther Sir Clement Higham or Mr. Gosnoll are to be charged withall, but for the rest I dare not testifie so farr, being not by common fame accompted of such zeale and good affection toward the religion now established as ys necessarilie required in men of their authoritie and calling, the displacing or reformacion of which I must holie committ to your honorable consideracions, as one having little accesse thither or acquaintance among them. And so leving farther to troble your honours I commend the same to the protection of Almightie god. Ffrom Norwich this xixth of November 1564.

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[a] Below f. 58.

Your honours humble to commaund

JOHN NORWIC.[b]

f. 46a.

In most humble manner certifiethe vnto your honours that accordinge to your letters to me directed and dated the xviith of October I have hadd conference with suche grave, wyttye men, good in Relligion as favourers of the policie of the Realme nowe established, namelye Mr. Alane Bellingham, Mr. George Lampleughe, Mr. Henry Towson, Mr. Richard Dudley, Mr. George Scroope, sub-warden; for with men of contrarye Relligion I durst haue no conference. And haue send vnto your honours the names of all the Justices of peace of the two shyers within my dyocese, herin enclosed, with notes of Relligion, Learninge and wysedome bothe according to myne owne knowledge and that I by conference could learne, and lykwise the names of suche as in Relligion are syncere & favouringe the politie are most fytt men to be appoynted in place of some of the other. And as concerning other officers, in myne opynyon ther is nothinge that more hyndreth the good Successe of the policies estableshed nor dothe the perpetuall contynuaunce of the Sheriffwyke of Westmerland, by which meanes ther is allways suche in office as in no wyse favors the true way, and suche are suffered to passe through the countre vnapprehended as talke at their pleasure, and some haue in the wyld mountaynes preached in Chappells. The Quenes Receyvours and other officers of the lower sort, being not good them selfes, discourage often suche as darre not displease them. And to speake plainly to your honours, the noblemens tenauntes in this countre Darre not be knowen to favour that way for feare of losse of their fermholdes. And finally the Justices of Assyse which, only making a good face of Relligion in gevinge of the charge, in all other their talkes and dooinges shewe them selfes not favourable towardes any man or cause of Relligion, which the people moche marke & talke of. And thus according to my dewtie and the trust which your honours have putt in me, not fearing any man but setting god before myne eyes, I have doon my best endevours to avaunce the glory of god by youe, prayenge god to preserve the Quenes highnes in long healthe of bodye, contynuaunce of this good mynde and your honours harttes prepared of god to contynue in the diligent & most faythfull service of god and the Quenes maiestie as youe haue to your great praise begonne. Ffrom the Rose Castle in Cumberland the xviiith of November 1564.

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[a] *State Papers*, vol. 60, No. 62, iv. Among those who have been of the Commission and presently be not.

[b] Parkhurst.

Your honours most humble at comandment

JOANNES CARLIOLEN.[a]

f. 48a.

Justices of peace at this pointe viz. a° dni 1564 within the Countie of Cumberland, *scilicet*:

The bushoppe of Carlill, The Lord Dacre. My Lord Dacre, butt especially my Lady his wyfe, are to be reformed in Relligion.

Sir Thomas Dacre of Lannercost, Knight custos Rotulorum within the Countie of Cumberland, to be admoneshed in Relligion and verie vnfytt for that office.

Henrye Curwen of Workington, armiger, William Pennington of Muncaster, armiger, John Lampleugh of Lampleugh, armiger, Thomas Myddleton of Skyrwith, armiger, In Relligion good & meat to contynue & the said myddleton lerned somethinge in the Lawes.

John Aglionby of Carlill, armiger, Richard Blannerhasset, deade, armiger, not staid in Relligion but to be admoneshedd and within the lyberties of the Cetie of Carlill none other able but poore men.

Richard Salkeld of Corby or Rosgill, armiger, not good in Relligion.

William Myddleton, gent., William Pyckringe, gent., in Relligion evell & not meatt.

Justices to be appoynted at your honours election and pleasure for the said countie:

Henry Lord Scroope, Lord Warden, Mr. George Scroope, his brother.

---

[a] Best.

George Lampleughe of Cockermouth, armiger, Henry Towsone of Brydekyrk, armiger, Thomas Layton of Dalemayne, armiger, Mr. Anthony Twhattes of vnerigg, clerk, men of wysedome & good Relligion, experyent and lerned but not in the Lawes.

Thomas Carleton of Carleton, gent., Andrewe Huddlestone, gentleman, in Relligion good & wyttye men.

f. 48b.

Justices of peace at this pointe a° dni 1564 within the countie of Westmerland, *scilicet:*

Sir Thomas Wharton of Whartone, knight, evill of Relligion.

Alane Bellingham, armiger, de Helsone lethes, Walter Streyckland de Syzer, armiger, Anthony Duckett de grarigg, armiger, all thre of good Relligion & meat men, and the said Bellingham lerned in the Lawe.

John Myddleton, gentleman, John Prestone, armiger, not of the shier, Richard Salkeld de Corkby & Rosgill, armiger, Oliuer Myddleton, gent., Richard Rigge, armiger, not good in Relligion, not fytt men.

Justices to be appoynted at your honours election and pleasure for the said countie :

Thomas Warcoppe de Smerdale, armiger, Lancelott Pyckring de Crosby Rawmwath,[a] armiger, Richard Dudley of Yenwath, armiger, Henry Crakenthorpe de Nebyging, armiger, William Gylping of Kentmyer, armiger, all verie good in Relligion & fytt men.

JOANNES CARLIOLEN.

f. 49a.

Glocestershire :

Myne humble dutie to your Lordships remembred, hauinge receaued your honorable Lettres dated the xviith of this laste octobre, wherin yt pleased your Lordships to command me to consydre the state of my dyocesse touching th'obseruacion of lawes established for the ecclesiasticall pollicie and therof with others to certyfie your honors. It may please the same to be aduertysed that hauinge had conference with Sir Thomas Throckmorton, knight, Richard Pate, esquier, and others, touchinge the contentes of your Lordships lettres for the reporte of discorde in Justices of the peace and men placed in auctoritie, doo signifie vnto the same, that (god be praised) their are no Justices nor men placed in auctoritie within my dyocesse, eyther by them selfes disordered, or meynteyners of disordre in others, but have alwayes shewed them selfes redie to represse suche arrogansie and contempt of auctoritie as hath at any tyme bene offered before my beinge placed, and sythence very redie and willinge for myne assistance when nede hath required. I farther thinke there is nothing that bredeth at this tyme more vnquietnes and lesse credyt to the Quenes maiesties moste godly and honorable procedinges then that some regard lytle or nothinge such ordre as is alredie established by the Quenes highnes ffor ecclesiasticall pollicie, whom I haue called and wylled to kepe ordre sett forth, but they contynue disordered as before, to whome lawe semeth to be no lawe & ordre no ordre. Ther is also a preacher, a man of great zeall & competent learninge, whom many of the countrie follow from place to place and receaue the communyon at his hand far from theire owne parisshes. I here men of good credyt, that he ys to populer in his sayenges, the redresse wherof I leaue to your Lordships wysedomes. The worshipfull of this countrie can certefie your honors farther herein, yf they (f. 49b.) be required. Theise thinges I can rayther lament then amend and refourme, or geue your honoures so mete advise tendinge to the redresse therof as your greate wysedomes of your selfes can conceaue, beinge indede a man of smale experyence and lytle obseruacion in matters of pollicie & governmente; trystinge that your Lordships wyll take in good parte this my vnskylfull dealinge in these causes, for that I haue not bene traned therin and yet with all humblenes moste redie to doo mye dutie, so far as my poore knowledge wyll serue and as I shall be commaunded. Greate dysordre groweth of indyfferent thinges, which are in the appoyntment of the prynce, wherin I wyssh we might draw one waye, acceptinge them with oute supersticion or geuinge to lytle estimacion to auctoritie and ordre by which they ar established. I thinke also good to put your Lordships in remembraunce as well of wylliam Reade of Boddington and George Huntley of Fforocetor, esquiers, Late shrifes of this shire, to be placed agayne in commyssion of the peace, as also of John Hungerford, esquier, a man of worship and faire possessions, dwellinge moste communlie in this shire at Downe auney,[a] wher ther services in thoffice and Admynistracion of Justice ar verie nedefull as I here & as I thinke yt may therfore please your Lordships to consydre of them accordinglie; And so moste humblie takinge my leaue I commytt your Lordshipe to the tuycion of the almightie, who preserue you, from Gloucester the xx^th^ of Novembre 1564.

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[a] Ravensworth.

Your lordshippes most humble to commaund
RIC. GLOUC.[b]

Endorsed: To the right honorable and my moste singuler good Lordes of the Quenes maiesties moste honorable preuye Counsell.

f. 51a endorsed *ibid.*

f. 52b endorsed *ibid.*

Hast hast hast
Hast with all diligence.

f. 53b.

To the Quene her maiesties most honorable Pryvie Councell.

f. 54b.

My duetie in moste humble wise to your honors. Maie it please the same to be advertised that accordinge to your honors late requeste to be certified by me of the favorers and mislikers of the present estate of religion, I have for aunswer thereunto diligentlie conferred with Sir William Keilweye, Sir Adrian Poyninges, Mr. William Vnedall, Mr. William Kyngesmill, Mr. Richard Norton, Mr. William Jephsonne, Mr. James Pagett and others of good religion. And for hable and meete menne to be putt in commission for the peace besides those (that I have hereafter noted to be favorers), I think vnder your honors correction it shalbe verie expedient aswell that the sayd favorers continewe in commission as that Mr. Thomas Carye, capitaine of the Hurst Castle, Mr. William Bowyer of hambled(on) and Mr. Henrie Clifford of Ffawleye were ioyned vnto them and also that by your honorable wisdoms the Lordes herewith certified might be moved to favor religion and to countenaunce the fautores and folowers thereof. And the two younge Lordes, therle of Southampton and the Lord Saindes, might nowe in there youthe be so trayned in religion that hereafter when they come to there aucthoritie and rule they shoulde not hinder the same. And because the citie of Winchestre is moste noted in hampshiere either for good example or evill (all that bear aucthoritie there except one or two beinge addicte to thold supersticion and earnest fautores thereof), It should be well donne to associate for the commission in the sayde citye the Busshopp of Winton, Sir Henrye Seamour, William Vnedall, henrye Wallopp, John ffoster and George Acworthe, the busshopps chauncelour, and for hedd officers there, and in other tounes fraunchised with Liberties, as Southampton, Basingstoke, Andever, Romeseye, Petersfyelde and Portesmouth, Lymmington and Newport in thisle of Wight and through the whole shiere, for cunstables and bayliffes of hundredes and for generall enquestes by graund Juries that by your honors Lettres earneste chardge and commandement be given to the whole bodie of the commissioners and officers, that non be appoynted vnto nor continue to exercise anie of the sayde offices or callinges but they whose religion is approved, nor none likewise placed or displaced by one or two, but by the common consent (of) the benche at some generall session, which will easelie drawe the common p(eople) to one good conformitye when they in aucthoritie goe all one waye, or dothe not crosse or hinder the well doinges of another. As for Surrey, (by) reasonne of my smale continuance and lacke of acquayntaunce there, I (have) not vsed suche advise whearby throughlie to satisfie your honors but but (*sic*) partelie by credible reporte and partelie by myne owne knowledge have gathered this, and for incorporations, fraunchises, liberties and hundrede(s) within this shiere, suche ordere were good as is before mentioned for hamp(shire) as shalbe best consydered by your Lordshippes wisdomes, whome I praie almightie (God) Longe to prosper and maynteine in honorable estate to his glorie and government of his realme. ffrom ffarneham the xiiith daie of November a° 1564.

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[a] Atkins, p. 401, Amney.

[b] Cheyney.

Your honorable Lordshippes moste humble to commaunde,

Rob. Winton.[a]

f. 54b., Col. a.

The Justices of peace in Hampshiere, Ffavorers:

The Busshopp of Winchester; Sir John Masson of Wintney; [Sir] William Pawlett; [Sir William] Keilwaye of Rockborne; [Sir] Henrie Seamer at Marwell; [Sir] Adrian Poyninges at Portesmouth; [Sir] John Barckeley at Christchurch; [Sir] Richard Pexall at stevington; [Sir] Oliver Wallopp at Ffarleighe; William Vnedall at Wykham; [William] Kingesmyll at Sydmanton; Richard Kingesmill, learned in the lawe; John Thornborough at ; Richard Gyfford at Kingesstunborne; Henrie Wallopp at ffarleighe; William Jephsonne at ffroyle; Richard Norton at Tistyd; Thomas Dearinge at Lysse; James Pagett at Burie; John ffoster at Badisleye;
Worsleye capten of thisle of Wight; George Milles in the wight; George Acworthe, doctor of the civill lawe, the bushopes chauncelor.

[a] Horne.

Mislikers or not favorers:

The Lord S^t^ John at Lettley (*sic*) castle; The Lord Chidiock Pawlett; William Pawlett of Vpclatford; William Bulckley at ffordyng-bridge; Robert Penrodocke of Charforde; Thomas Shelleye of Buryton.

John White of Southwirk, whoe notwithstandinge for skyll & his good administration of Justice maie is it veine so good to your honors continue still in the Commission (*sic*).

In the Citie of winchestre mislikers of religion of the chiefe aucthoritie.

Hodsonne the Maior; Bethell thelder and Bethell the younger; William Lawrence; White towardes the Lawe & Pottenger; Coreham towardes the Lawe and Skinner, Ffavorers.

Added at the side in Burleigh's hand:

Favorers in the Citie of Wynchester:

Colley; Brantor.

Col. b.

The Justices of Surrey, Ffavorers:

Mr. John Birche barron; [Mr.] Gilbert Gerard, atturnie generall; William Moore of Loseleye; Richard Onselowe of Cranleye; John Egmundsham of Hursleye; Thomas Browne of Biechworthe; Thomas Doile, stewerd to my Lord Caunturburies grace; William Bowyer of Camerwell.

Indifferent ministers of Justice within the countie of Surreye:

Sir Thomas Saunders of Cherl[wood]; Nicholas Lee of Adington; John Skinner of Rigat thelder; Nicholas Steydolf of Mickleham.

Gentlemen to be putt in commission of peace in Surreye:

Thomas Litle, keaper of Bagshott parcke; Thomas Dodmare dwelling aboute kea. . . . ; John Skinner the younger of Rigat; John Hurleston towardes the Lawe.

Endorsed, f. 55 b: To the right honorable the Lordes and others of the Queenes maiesties privie Counsell.

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f. 56.

Pleasith it your honorable estates to be advertised that after your Lettres directed vnto me for your informations what personagis maye be thought mete to be placed or contynued as Justices of the peace and who ought to be removed from the same, within my diocese and Jurisdiction of Canterbery, I haue the longer differred my answere for want of such sufficient Instructions as I laubored for to haue had. But concernyng the Countye of Kent I haue conferred with certen wise men therof. So that I haue gathered partly by myn owne knowledge and bi conference with others that these parsons in shedule inserted maye wel contynue to serue, with iii. others lastly named, of all which parsons though not of like zeale in religion yet such as I must saye that the furdest of[a] in fauorable affection toward the state of religion, be outwardly men conformable and not chargeable to my knowledge of any grete extremyties vttered bi them in afflicting the honest and godly, or in mayntenyng the perverse and ongodly, as your Letters do speke.

Sir Thomas Wutton.
Mr John tufton.

Thus trusting that I haue satisfied your honors request, I wysshe the same long preseruacion in grace and fauorable estate. Ffrom my house at Lamhith this xxiiiith of Novembre.

Your honors

MATTHUE CANTUAR.

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[a] For "off."

f. lvii.

Percivallus Hart, Martinus Bowes, Willelmus Damsell, Henricus Cripse, Thomas Kempe, Georgius Howard, Thomas Cotton, Christopherus Aleyn, Henricus Cheyney, milites.

Thomas Wotton, Warhamus St leger, Richardus Baker, Johannes Cobham, Johannes Tufton, Thomas Scott, Willelmus Isley, Humfredus Hales, Willelmus Cromer, Johannes Lennard, Anthonius Weldon, Thomas Stanley, Thomas Asheley, Robertus Rudstone, Nicholaus Barham, Thomas Watton, Rogerus Manwood, Willelmus Lovelace, Johannes Meyney, Thomas Lovelace, Radulfus Bossevile, Georgius Darrell, Robertus Bynge, Thomas Doyley, Johannes Beere, Robertus Riches, Hugo Cartwright, Georgius Moulton, Georgius Ffame, Johannes Goldwell, Thomas Honywood, Thomas Hales, Hugo Darrell, Edwardus Boys, Gualterus Robertes, Nicholaus St. Leger.

f. 58.

Norfolk.

My bounden dutie vnto your honours humblie remembred, for answer of your honorable lettres receuid the xxviith of October and dated the xviith of the same, yt may like yow to be advertised that vppon conference and good advice taken with the duke of Norffolk his grace, Sir Edmund Windham, Sir Christofer heydon, Sir William Buttes, Sir Thomas Wodhowse, Sir Nicholas Lestrange knightes, the metest men in my opinion in this shire of Norffolk for this required seruice, by whose advice and certificat vnto me the Justices of peace of this Shire be verey well affected and geven to the executing of the orders and lawes of this Realme established for the ecclesiasticall policie, except Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Thomas Tyndall,[a] knightes, Edmund Bowpre and Mr. Gybon of Lynne, Espuires, who are not thought by common fame to be so well bent as the other, yet I assure your honours, I know not of my part nor yet can lerne by anie probable meane, of anie fact that anie of them are to be charged with, and so leve it to your honorable consideracions. And for augmenting of the number of the Justices of this Shire, although there be divers mete parsons and well affected, yet considering (thankes be to god) the Shire being alredie in so good quiet with the advice of the above written persons I thinke the number sufficient for this Shire. And so leving to troble your honours I humblie take my leave, beseching god to send you much encrese of honour, ffrom Norwich this xviith of November 1564.

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[a] Sheriff, t. Eliz. Fuller's *Worthies.*

Your honours humble to commaund
John Norwic.[a]

f. 59.

It maye please your honours to be advertised that accordinge to the tenour of your honorable letters directed vnto me I haue sente herewithe, according to the forme in your said letters prescribed, a certificate in writinge, conteyninge the names as well of those Justices of the peace who are iudged not to be favourable to the ordinarie good proceadinges of the Realm in the ordres and causes of Religion, as also the names of those Justices that are well geven and meete to continue in office. And with all the names of some thought meete to be called to the said office. Of the which it may please your honours to have suche consideracion as to your honorable wisdomes shall seme good. Thus ceassinge to trouble your honors, I humblie commend the same to the grace of god. Ffrom my house at Powles this xviith of November, 1564.

Your honorable Lordshippes
att Commandement
Edm. London.[b]

f. 60.

Diocese London.—Ciuitas London.

The state and governement of the Cittye of London is allwaies subiecte vnto the eyes of your honors and therfore I haue not thought it greatlie necessarie to make anie reporte at this time of the governours therof being well ynoughe knowen, and in myne opinion (as in suche a state) not to be misliked at this present.

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[a] Parkehurst.

[b] Grindal.

f. 60 b.

Nomina Justiciariorum pacis 1564,

Middlesex.

Thomas Wrothe, miles, Edwardus Warner, miles, favourers of godlie Religion.

Rogerus Cholmeley, miles, Martinus Bowes, miles, indifferent.

Thomas Chamberleine, miles, Thomas Sackeford, Master Requists, Gabriel Goodman, Decanus christi, Gilbertus Gerrard, attorney general, Willelmus Rosewell, sollicitor, Ricardus Onslow, recordator Civitatis London, Robertus Nowell, attornatus Curie Wardae, Johannes Asheldy, Edwardus ffitzgaret, Robertus Huycke, Petrus Osborne, Edmundus Marten, Jasperus Ffisher, Tho. Wilson, legum doctor, Robertus Chidley, Anthonius Stapleton, Johannes Newdigate, all favourers.

f. 61 a.

Edwardus Bashe, I know not his Religion.

Johannes Marshe, Armigill Wade, favourers of Religion.

Edwardus[a] Randolphe, Indifferent, Henricus Iden, A favourer, Robertus Harris, Indifferent, Rogerus Carewe, A favourer, Thomas Elrington, not persuaded in Religion (as I am enformed), but in his outwarde doinges semethe to me conformable.

Edwardus[b] Taylour,[c] Johannes Leake de Edmunton,[c] hinderers.

Christoferus Riche, indifferent.

Item, for the better governement of this Countie of Middlesex, it is to be considered that sithens the death of Mr Hamondesham there is never a Justice of the peace resient in the bodie of the Shiere, for Mr Elrington liethe altogether in Surrey, Mr Newdigate moste parte in Buckinghamshiere, M^r^ Rithc (*sic*) moste commonlie at Lincolns Inne, M^r^ Carew, M^r^ Taylour and M^r^ Leake are in one extreme parte of the Shiere, the reste remaine about the Courte and about the Cittie: And yet for remedie herof I cannot hitherto finde owt anie apte men dwellinge in the harte of the shiere to exercise thoffice of Justice other then be alredie named.

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[a] Corr. from Barnardus.

[b] Corr. from Edūs.

[c] The Leakes of Edmonton occur as recusants in Middlesex Sessions Rolls (County Records); also Edm. and Edw. Taylor.

f. 62a.

Nomina Justiciariorum Pacis in Comitatu Hartford.—Commorantium intra diocesem London.

Hartford:

Radulfus Sadler, [Radulfus Rowlet], milites, favourers.

Ricardus Lee[a] [miles], indifferent; Robertus Chester[b] [miles], an hinderer; Edwardus Caple [miles], indifferent but a verie good Justicer.

Alex. Nowell, decanus Sancti Pauli, Willelmus Barleye, Thomas Barrington, Georgius Gill, favourers.

Edwardus Bashe, *vide supra* in Middlesex.

Frauncíscus Walsingham, a favourer.

f. 62b.

Georgius Penruddocke, Willelmus Hide, favourers.

Georgius Hadley, Thomas Hauchet, Edwardus Taylor, hinderers.

Meete men to be put in the Commission of the peace in this Countie of Harford:

M^r^ Thomas Laventhorpe of Albery, esquier, a favourer; and William Hamond of Moudon gent., a favourer and skilfull in the Lawe.

Item, there is one Birkehead,[c] clerke of the peace in the said Countie, a notoriouse adversarie to religion of myne oun knouledge, and a great afflicter of the godlie and well disposed persones, whose removinge from that office (if it maye be lawfull) should do moche good.

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[a] Got monastic property. Clutterbuck, iii., p. 7.

[b] A Sheriff. Fuller.

[c] Cor. from Dirkehead.

f. 62. (*sic.*)

Nomina Justiciariorum pacis, 1564. Besides the Lordes Counsellours & two Justices of the commone pleas.

Essex:

Robertus Riche, Anthonius Cooke, milites, favourers of Religion.

Johannes Wentworth,[a] [miles], an hinderer.

Thomas Wrothe, Franciscus Jobson, Thomas Smythe, milites, favourers.

Thomas Goldinge, miles, indifferent.

Willelmus Bendlowes, Seruiens ad legem, an hinderer.

Thomas Sackeford, vnus magistorum curie Requistorum, favourer.

Thomas Mildmaye,[a] [Thomas] Powle, indifferent.

Willelmus Waldgrave, Thomas Lucas,[a] Kenelmus Throkmorton, Willelmus Aylife,[a] [Willelmus] Cardynall, Edwardus Barret,[a] Thomas Barrington,[a] Edwardus Berye, Johannes Tomworthe, favourers.

Comitatus Essex.

George Hadley, a hinderer; Georgius Nicolles, favourer, learned in the lawe and to be trusted.

Jacobus Altham, indifferent. Edwardus Bockinge, George Christemas; these two in wordes seme to favour Religion, but are (as I am enformed) not favourable to the ministers of the same, and are besides noted to governe vndiscretlie, and insyncerelie, makinge gaine of the office, and this is affirmed to be true by divers graue and godlie persones of that countrey with whom I haue conferred.

Rogerus Amys, Clemens Syceley, favourers.

Willelmus Cheshull, an hinderer. Thomas ffranke, reported to be an hinderer, but in his wordes to me he hathe protested the contrarie; yf it be thought good he maye be tried for a time till I may searche owt the truthe more certeinlie.

Henry Goldinge, Edwardus Daniell, favourers.

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[a] Sheriff. Fuller's *Worthies*.

f. 63.

ad huc Essex.

Johannes Wiseman, an hinderer; Mattheus Bradburie, indifferent; Edwardus Riche, favourer.

Men meete[a] in myne opinion to be putte into the Commission of the peace within the Countie of Essex which hitherto haue not bene in the Commission, viz.:

M^r^ Edward Isacke, Esquier, a favourer & of good truste; M^r^ John Moore, of Orsette, gentleman, a favourer skilled in the lawes and trustie.

Item, it is to be wisshed that one Jerome Songer, who moche afflictethe, vnder colour of arrerages of thexchequer bothe the poore ministers and also other simple people beyond good ordre, maybe vtterlie excluded from all directe and indirecte exercise of anie office vnder the Quenes maiesty and namelie for anie recept of money or levieng thinges dewe to the prince.

f. 64.

Somersettshyre :

In most humble wise, as to dewtie appartayneth, it maie please your honors to be advertised that I vppon the sight of your Lettres concerninge the iustices of Peace wrote immediatelie to Sir Morrys Barckley, Sir Raff Horton and to Mr. John Horner to have their advice accordinge to the tenor of the same. And for further intelligens I have commoned with Justice Wealche, harry Portman, William Halley and John Hipesley, iustices, and can vnderstand nothinge of them, but that everie iustice in the shire of Somerset doo diligently (as they saie) exequute their offyce. I have not muche to saie against any man, but only by reporte, where with to trouble your honors I have not thought it good. I have hard good commendations of one Mr. John Carre, late of Bristoll, who nowe dwelleth in the said sheire in a place called Brent Mearsche, the Countrey there ys verie rewde and there ys no Justice nighe save only Mr. Cuffer, who, for wante of healpe, ys not able to answere everie suyter, the said Mr. Carre I knowe to be wise, sobre, wealthie, and verie well affected to religion. There ys also commended one William Hyll of the Towne of Taunton, elder brother to Robert Hyll, one that ys well eastemed amonges his neighbours, and verie well knowen of all those that professe the Gospell, to be a sincere favorer thereof. There ys also one John Sydenham of Dulverton in the west parties of the said sheire, where there ys no Justice nighe, savinge Sir John Wyndham, who for age, sickenes and other cawses ys not nowe verie mete to doo service in that Offyce. The said John Sydenham ys well knowen to be wise, sobre and discrete, verie well affected to religion, a man well esteamed of his neighbours rounde aboute him. My humble suyte vnto your honors ys, that for the better performans of dewtie it might please youe to take Order, that every one that nowe ys, or hereafter shal be, called to the Office of a Justice, maie personallie take a solemne Othe before such as please your honors to appointe. And further if it be thought good to your honors, that they shall subscrybe their names to that Commission, that shall first be geven out to the Sheriff of everie Sheyre. I iudge verilie God shuld be better served, his worde more reverenced, the Quenes maiesties procedinges more humblie obeied, lesse grudge, and dowte amonge the common people, and so God fynallie, and on everie parte, most amplie glorified and all wee the Quenes maiesties most faithefull and humble subiectes bound to praie perpetuallie for her highnes longe and most prosperous raigne, and for your honors godlie successe in all your doynges durynge our Lyves. At London, this xxvii^{t} of Novembre Anno 1564.

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[a] Corr. from "might."

Your honors humble and dailie Orator,
GIL. BATHE & WELLES.[a]

Endorsed : f. 65 b.

To the right honorable my verie good Lordes the Lordes of the Quenes Maiesties most honorable privey Councell.

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[a] Berkeley.

f. 66 a.

My singular good lordes for answer to your honorable letters of the xvii^th of Octobre and received by me the xxv^th of the same, may it please your Wisdomes to vnderstand thus muche. I have conferred Acording to your apointment with suche menne as hereafter be named in this schedule, concernyng such Justices as be in autoritie for their aptness to the same and favoring of religion and also for suche as be not placed and yet fitt for that place, and haue declared your honors their opinions severally as they send me theim in writing. And bicause it was your farther pleasure that I shuld declare severally my opinion also of suche other thinges that doe hynder these gudd procedinges, in the latter ende I have done it also. I wold have answered soner butt that they, dwelling farre of, did something prolong the tyme, and partly I my self have bene troubled with sickenes of late. Praised be the lorde of hostes that hais putt this zelous mynde in to the Quenes maiestie, not onely to seke his glorie so zelouslye butt also to represse the hinderers of the same. And godd grant yor honors that contynuall ernest love of Justice, that thexeqution of suche godly lawes may be dulie practised and such good example come from you that the peple may be encoraged to doe the like. Thus with the commendation of my service I commend your honors to thalmightie, who for his vndeserved mercy sake long preserve her highnes and your honors to thadvancement of his glorie and cumfort of his peple. ffrom Awcland the xxii^th of Novembre 1564.

Your honors most bounden & obedient
JA. DURESME.[a]

f. 68 a.

My Lord of Bedford sais that within his charge there is never a Justice of peace nor none that he can commend as mete for that purpose.

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[a] Pilkington.

Sir John ffoster, Lord Warden of the mydell marche, thinkes these menne mete to be Justices and vsed in service.

Northumberland:

Cuthbert Lord Oyle, Sir Henry Percie, [Sir] John Witherington, [Sir] J. George Ratclif; Robert lawson, Cuthbert Horsley, skilled in the lawes; John Dalavell, George Heron, Nicholas Rydly, Cuthbert Carneby, Robert Mydelton, Sir Rauf Gray, Shiref vnder my Lord of Bedford, Sir Robert Ellercar he sais is a verie papist and all together vnlerned. He mislikes also Thomas Bates of Morpeth, and Sir John Mitforde of Highill he dowtes.

The towne of newcastell hais tenne aldermen, a maier and a shiref. everie alderman by their privilege is a Justice of peace as I here. they say that both theimselfes will be obedient to the lawes and kepe the towne so to with all their diligens, and surely if welth made theim not willfull both of their owne substance and the towne chamber by their impost of sea coole[a] it wold be one of the best townes on this side trent. The poorer sort hire theimselfes a precher butt none of theim or few gives litell or nothing to the precher.

Sir Robert Brandling, maior, Cuthbert Ellison, Bertram Anderson, Richard Hodshon, Christofer mytford, Oswold Chapman, Robert Ellison, Cuthbert Musgrave, John Wilkinson, William Dent, Robert Anderson.

f. 67 b.

In the Bishopricke of duresme, my Lord Evers and I think gudd to commend these Justices to your honors.

Charles, erle of Westmoreland, William Lord Ewrie, [William] Whittingam, deane, Sir George Bowes, Thomas Calverley, [Thomas] louton, lawers.

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[a] Brand, *Newcastle*, ii. p. 269. The corporation was receiving £10,000 per annum from its duty on coal of 4d. per chaldron.

These other live quietly and obey the lawes:—Sir George Conyers, [Sir] William Bellasse, Robert Tempest, John Blaxston, Robert Swyfte, chancelor spirituall, William Hilton, Thomas Mydelton, Francis Bambrigge, Robert Bowes, Shiref, Christofer Chaiter, Gerrerd Salvyn, Edwerd Parkinson, William Smyth, Robert Lawson. John Swynborne kept a preist to say him masse butt he hais paid his fyne for it.

There be twoe other thinges in my opinion which hynder religion here muche. The Scottisshe preistes that are fledde out of Scotland for their wickednes and here be hyred in parisshes on the borders bicause they take lesse wages than other, and doe more harme than other wolde or colde in disswading the peple, I have done my diligence to avoide theim, butt it is above my power. The other thing is the grete number of scholers borne here about nowe lieng at lovan[a] without lycense, and sending in bokes and letters which cause many tymes evill rumors to be spredde and disquiet the peple. They be mayntened by the hospitals of the newcastell and the welthiest of that towne and this shire as it is iudged and be their nere cousins.

f. 69 a.

My humble duetie considered vnto your honors, whereas by your honors lettres I was commaunded to signifie vnto youe the names as well of those Justices of peace as of others, placed by anie meanes in auctoritie within my iurisdiction, whiche are not well affected to the moste godly state and order of thecclesiasticall policie of this Realme of England, But are rather of contrarie dispositions, and afflicters or at the leaste hinderers of the sayde ecclesiastical state, and that also I should certifie your honors of suche persons, who are well geven and meete to be called to office, withe theyre names and dwellinge places, These are to advertise your Lordships that I have, abowte this your will and commaundemente, conferred and vsed thadvise of the moste worshipfull and wiseste of my dioces, namelie Sir Peter Carewe, Sir John Chichester, Sir John Moore, Mr. Southcotte of Shillingforde, Mr. John Parker of Northmolton, Mr. John Carewe of Bickleye by Tiverton, who all withe good advisement and deliberacion gaue notice vnto me of suche persons, as well of thone to be displaced owte of office, as the other to be by the Queenes maiestie and your honors placed in office and auctoritie, whose names I have written in the schedule heare inclosed, setting the names of the disfavorers of this case on the one side, and the names of the godlie affected on thother side and do moste humblie beseche youre honors to take in good parte this my shorte and rude answer vnto your Lordshippes lettres. And especiallie that youe will not be offended for that I haue not certified your honors withe suche expedition and convenient speede as youe required me. My onlie staye and Lette of no sooner answering was thexpectinge the returne of Sir Peter Carewe and Sir John Chichester from the vttermoste partes of Cornwall, where than they were, in exploitinge theyr diligence vpon certaine vrgente affaires of the Queenes highnes, and your honours commandemente, abowte vewing the portes of this whole countrie. And because it was verie Longe or they returned, I thought it good to suspend mine answer vnto your honors vnto suche tyme as I mighte vse theyr advises and counsels. Thus moste humblie submittinge my self vnto your honours, I committe the same to the tuition of Almightie god, who Longe preserue youe in most prosperous healthe and wealthe vnto his godlie will & pleasure, from Excestre the xxvi^th^ of November 1564.

---

[a] Louvain.

your humble suppliante to commaunde,

WILL. EXON.[a]

f. 70.

The names of suche Justices as were in the countie of Cornwall as in the countie of Devon, who are enemies or at the Leaste, no favourers of thecclesiasticall policie of this Realme.

[a] Alley.

Cornwall:

Inprimis, John Bevell,[a] Justice of peace, but a verie greate enemye. Item, [John] Polewheele, Justice, but an extreme enemie.

Item, John Reskimer,[b] Justice, but an extreme enemy and an ill liver. Item, Richard Riskerocke, Justice, yet a Verie enemye.

The names of those whiche are meete to be Justices and to be called to office in the sayde Countie of Cornwall:

Inprimis, John Killigrewe the younger. Item, John Carminowe. Item, Nicholas [Carminowe]. Item, Richarde Trevanion. [Item], John Tralawine.[b] Item, Samson Mainton. Item, Richard Chaman. Item, John Anderton. [Item], Mr. Moyle of saint Germans.

Devon;

The names of those whiche are not counted worthie to be Justices in the Countie of Devon:

Inprimis, Marke Slader. Item, Christofer Copston, althoughe he be no enemie, yet he is not thoughte to be meete for the office of Justice by the reason of diuerse disorders. Other there be, who are not so earneste to mainteyne thecclesiasticall policie as they are wished to be, but yet for theyre Learninge, knowlege and wisdome they are thoughte meete men to continue in the saide office of Justice shippe.

The names of them who are counted meete to be placed in authoritie in the countie of Devon:

Inprimis, Mr. Edgecome.[c] Item, Mr. Butteshead. Item, Mr. John Carewe of Bickleye.

f. 70 b.

The names of those whiche are no Justices, yet being of some auctoritie are iudged no favorers of the foresaide state:

Inprimis, the greate Arundell[d] of Cornwall. Item, one Tregian of Cornwall. Item, one John Tremaine. [Item, one John] Tregudicke. Item, John Hill. [Item], William Cavill of Cornwall. [Item], Robarte Winter one of the Justices of the citie of Exeter. Item, one Harte, the towne Clerke of Exeter. [Item, one] ffleayre. [Item, one] Kirkham of Pinhowe by Exeter. [Item], other there be whiche are of a contrarie disposition but these be the chiefeste or at the leaste so counted.

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[a] Sheriff. Fuller.

[b] Sheriff. Fuller and Polwhele.

[c] Sheriff. Fuller.

[d] Sir John Arundell of Lanherne. See Oliver's *Catholics*, p. 16.

The certificate of Thomas[a] Archbysshoppe of Yorke to the righte honorable the Lordes and others of the Queenes Maiesties moste honorable privie counsell. Towchinge and concerninge theyre lettres for Justices of peace within the Countie of Yorke and Cittye of Yorke parcelles of the diocese of Yorke.

Westrydinge:
Thomas gargrave, miles, Johannes Yorke, [miles], Richardus Corbett, Georgius browne, Henricus Savill, Thomas Waterton, Willelmus Lyster, Richardus Beamond, Richardus goodricke, Brianus Bayles, Willelmus Wombwell, Willelmus Swyfte, Hugo Savile, Johannes lambart, Junior, Willelmus tancard, ar(migeri), Justices that be favorers of Religion.

Westrydinge:
Willelmus Vavasour, miles, [Willelmus] Ingleby, [miles], vicecomes, Thomas Danby, Willelmus Mallory, Milites, Frunciscus Woodrofe ar., Edwardus Elltoftes ar. Necessarye men, ffrunciscus Palmes, ar., Willelmus Hamond, ar.; Willelmus Hungate, [ar.], Johannes Lacye of Cromwel bothom, Henry Gryce ar., Justices that be no favorers.

Westrydinge:
ffrunciscus slingesbye, Richardus Malwerey, Robertus Lee,

[a] Young.

Johannes Beverley, Richardus Asheton, R[ichardus] Buny, ar[migeri], men meete to be Justices of peace & favorers.

Estrydinge :
Thomas gargrave, miles, henricus gate, miles, Johannes Vaghan, Christoferus Estofte, Henricus Savile, Johannes Eglesfyld, Thomas Eyuns, Christoferus Hylliard, Willelmus Strickeland, Anthonius Smethlecy, Radulfus counstable de sepulcres, Thomas Boyneton, ar[migeri], Justices that be favorers of Religion.

Estrydinge :
Willelmus Babthorppe, miles, a Justice of peace & no favorer of religion.

Estrydinge :
John Counstable, Knight, Symon Musgrave, George Dakyns, Arthur [Dakyns], Bartholomewe Abbott, ar[migeri], meete to be Justices of peace & favorers.

f. 72a.
Northrydinge :
Thomas Gargrave, miles, Nicholaus ffayrefaxe, [miles], Henricus gate, [miles], Georgius Bowes, [miles], Rogerus Dallton, Roger Ratclyf, Johannes Herbert, Walterus Strickland, Thomas Layton, Willelmus Davell, Averedus Vnedall, ar[migeri], Justices and favorers of Religion.

Northrydinge :
Christoferus Danbye, miles, Leonardus dacre, Thomas Rookeby, Johannes Sayre, Machaell Wandesfurth, Anthonius Catteracke, ar[migeri], Justices and no favorers of Religion.

Northrydinge :
Christoferus Metcalfe, miles, Willelmus tancard, Thomas Gower, Thomas Savile, Robertus Barneton, Radulfus Bowrchyer, ar[migeri], meete to be Justices & favorers.

Justices of peace within the Cittie of Yorke :
James Sympson, maior, Robertus Hall, Thomas Apleyard, Robertus Hekleton, Johannes Bene, Willelmus Cowpland, [Willelmus] Beckkewh, Robertus Pecocke, Thomas Staneven, Thomas Lawson, Percyvall crayforth, Justices & no favores of religion.

Willelmus Wattson, Radulfus Hall, Justices there & favorers of Religion.

f. 73 a.

The certificat of Thomas Archbysshoppe of Yorke to the righte honorable the Lordes and others of the queenes maiesties privie Counsell towchinge & concerninge theire lettres for Justices of peace within the countie of Nottingham parcell of the diocese of Yorke.

Comitatus Nottingham, Justices of peace there and favorers of religion:
Sir John Herrsye, knight, [Sir] William Meringe, [knight], Robert Markeham, esquier, John Byron the younger, George Nevill, Bryan Stapleton, William Burnell, [esquiers], Justices of peace there and no favorers of religion.

Comitatus Nottingham predictus :
Sir Gervys clyfton, knighte, Sir John Byron [knighte], bothe good subiectes & necessarie for service in theire countrie but in religion vearie cold.

Sir Anthony Styrrley, [knight], [Sir] William Hollys, [knight], John Mannors, esquier, Thomas Stanhoppe, esquier, Ffrauncis Mullenax, esquier, nowe sheryf, Gabriell Barewicke, [esquier], Nicholas Powterell, [esquier], sargent at lawe.

f. 80.

Chester:

This cittie is governed bie xxiiii^{ty} Aldermen, out of which Nomber the Maior is yerelie chosen, who immediatlie apon his othe taken is a Justice of peace and so after Continueth duringe his lief and albeit the graunte of their Charter is so ample that neither Alderman nor Justice of peace can be displaced, yet I have signified who be favorers, who be not, and who be most mete bothe for zeale and habilitie to be made Aldermen as any Rowme shall fall.

Justices favorable:

Laurence Smith, knight, William Gerrard, Esquier, John Websbow, Henry Hardware, Raffe Goodman senior, John Cowper.

Justices not favorable:

Richard Poole maior, William Sneide, knight, John Walley, John Smith, Thomas Smithe, John Offley, William Aldersey, Randle Bamvile.

Col. 1.

Aldermen not Justices yet favorable:

Richard Harper, armiger, sergeant at law, William Leche senior, Adam Goodman, Morris Williams, Thomas Grene.

Col. 2.

Aldermen not Justices neither favorable:

Randle Manwaringe, Roberte Walley, Roberte Johns, Raffe Goodman.

Col. 3.

Meete to be Aldermen for their zeale and habilitie :

Richard Sutton, William Hanmet, Henry Leche, John ffisher, Oliuer Smithe, Edward Marten, Edward Hanmer, John Hankie, Christopher Morvile, William Crofton, John Yerworthe.

ff. 81-83 are here arranged in tabular form to save space.

In the original the names are arranged in three columns under the hundreds or parcells.

f. 81.

COUNTIE CHESTER.

	Justices favorable.	Not favorable.	Meete to be Justices.
Iundred de Eddesbury	John Savage de Clifton knight Raffe Dent de Vtkinton, armiger	John Bryne de Stapleford, armiger	George Bieston de Bieston, armiger Richard Birkenhed of Manley, Gentlemen Learned in the Lawe
Iundred de Bulkley	Raffe Leycester de tofte, knight	John Dutton of Dutton, armiger	Richard Brooke de Norton, armiger, Thomas Leighe de Leighleighe, armiger John Grinnsdiche de grinnsdiche, armiger, Learnec in the Lawe
Iundred de Macclesfield	Edward Ffitton de Gawswerth, knight	Henricus Bierton de hanford, knight William Davenport de bromhall, knight Roberte Tatton de Withenshawe, armiger Piers Leighe de Lime, knight John Warren de Pomton, armiger	Thomas Stanley de Wever, armiger Richard Sutton de Sutton, armiger Raffe Arderne de Hardeine, armiger William Dokenfield de Dokenfeld, armiger Jaspar Worthe de Dittrington, armiger

	Justices favorable.	Not favorable.	Meete to be Justices.
Hundred de Nauntwich	Laurence Smith de Houghe, knight John Delves de Aington, armiger	Non to my knoledge	John Mushull de Mushull, armiger Edmond Griffin de Bartherton, armiger Roberte Vernam de armiger
Hundred de Northwiche	Non to my knoledge	Thomas Venables de Kinderton, knight	Henry Manwaringe de caringham, armiger Charles Manwaringe de Croxton, armiger William Liversage de Whelock, armiger
Hundred de Broxon	Hugh Cholmondley de Cholmondley, knight George Calveley de Ley, armiger Richard Hurleston de Pickton, armiger	Non to my knoledge	Richard Clyve de Huxley, armiger
Hundred de Wirrall	Richard Houghe de Leighton, armiger William Glastor, armiger	William Massie de Podington,[a] armiger, a good Justice	John Poole de Poole, armiger

[a] **Sheriff. Fuller's *Worthies*.**

f. 82.

COUNTIE LANC'

	Justic favorable.	Not favorable.	Meete to be Justices.
Hundred de Lonsdale	Thomas Carus Sergeaunt, ar'	Francis Tunstall de Thurland, ar'	Non to my knoledge
Hundred de Amoundernes	Thomas Calvert de Sokerham, ar'	George Browne de Ribchester, ar' Richard Shirburne de Stannehurst, k' John Rigmaiden de Garstoinge, ar'	Non to my knoledge
Hundred de Blagburne	Non to my knoledge	John Sothworth[a] de Sampsbury, k' John Osbaldeston de Osbaldeston, ar' John Townley[a] de Townley, ar' Richard Ashton de Whalley, ar' John Bradill de Whalley, ar'	Giles Parker de Harropforth, gent Brian Parker, gent, learned in the lawe
Hundred de Leyland	John Fletewodde de Penwortham, ar'	Thomas Hesketh de Rusforth, knight Edward standish de standishe, ar' Hugh Anderton de Yexton, ar'	Thomas Ashall de Hill, ar'[b] Thomas Butlour de Bewsay, ar'

[a] Harland, p. 70, conformable.

[b] Above scratched out Thomas Stanley de Winweke.

	Justic favorable.	Not favorable.	Meete to be Justices
Hundred de Derby	John Atherton de Atherton, knight	Richard Molinex de Sefton, knight Henry Halsall de Halsall, ar' Laurence Ireland de lideate, ar'	Thomas Stanley d Winweke, knigh
Hundred de Saulgeford	Edward Holland de denton, ar' Edmond Ashton de Chatterton, armiger	William Radcliffe de ordishall, knight Roberte Barton de Smethelles, ar' Raffe Ashton de Leyver, ar'	Thomas Herle, ga dian of Manceste Edmond Traffor de Trafford, ar' Charles Ratcliff Todmerden, ar' Richard Ratcliff gent,of xx^{li} Lande zealous and wise John Asheto Clark, zealous an learned

f. 83.

The Archdeaconrye of Richmonde is in my Jurisdiccion Conteyneth in hit diuerse Parcelles of sundrie Countries, viz.:—

	Justic favorable.	Justic not favorable.	Mete to be Justic.
Parcell of the Countie York wherein be theis Justic	Walter Strickland de Crofte, ar' John Saier de Merske, ar' r. (Uvedalle Avery ~~Vuedalle~~ de Merick, ar'	William Tankard de borrobrigge, ar' Christopher Danbie de Well, knight Machaell Wandisfurth de Pickall, ar' Theis be good Justic altho not very favorable William Inglebie de Ripley, knight Richard Norden de Wath, ar' Christopher Wivell de Masham, ar' William Wicliffe de Wicliffe, ar' Antony Caterick de stanwick, ar' Antony Rokby de Rokbie, ar'	Roger brough de brough, ar' William Peper de Richmond, gent Roberte Heblethwaite, commissary of my Archdeaconry of Richmond
Parcell of the Countie Cumberland wherein be theis Justic	William Pennington de Moncaster, ar'	Henry Curwen de Workington, ar' John Lampluffe de Lampluffe, ar'	Non to my knoledge

	Justic favorable.	Justic not favourable.	Mete to be Justi
Parcell of the Countie Westmoreland wherein be theis Justic	Alane Bellinghame de Kendall, ar'	John Middleton de lonsdale, ar' Antonie Duckett de Kendall, ar' Theis be good Justic altho not very favorable Oliuer Middleton de Bithonie, gent	William Gilpen Kentmaire, ar'
Parcell of the Countie Lanc' wherein be theis Justic	Non to my knoledge	Antony Kirkby de Kirkbie, ar' A good Justic	John Preston ffornes, ar'

f. 84 b is endorsed To the right honorable the Queens Maiesties Privie Counsell. On the remaining folios numbered xci-xcvi the lists of "mislikers" and of men fit to be justices are again copied out.

f. 97 (unnumbered).

Syr, I send your honor the namys of such as be commended to me in these shiers; what these be & what others be, your honors of the councell knowe moche better than we can enforme youe, and as for myself, I know them not and somtyme enformers serve ther own turne & gratific ther frendes.

As for bristowe diocesse the commendatory therof shuld haue sent his certificat. thus Jesus be with your honor,

Yours euermore
Matthue Cantuar.

In the dioces of Landaff:

Glamorganshire.

Sir George Herbard. Mr. Edward Manxell, [Mr] Roberte Gamage, [Mr.] Edward Lewes, [Mr.] Tho. Lewes, [Mr.] Myles Buttin, comes, William Evans, chancellour, Christopher Turberfeild, Mr. Dauid Evans of North, Mr. Lesam price [Mr.] William Jenkin.

Momworthe Shire.

The Erle of Worceter, Mr. Tho. Mawgan, [Mr.] Charles Somerset, [Mr.] Tho. Herberd, [Mr.] William John stroger, [Mr.] Evans, Chauncellour.

In the dioces of Oxford :

Sir Tho. Benger, knight, Henrye Nores, Esquier, Mr. Wayman, [Mr.] fynes, [Mr.] John Doyly, [Mr.] Roberte [Doyly,] [Mr.] Tho. Wynchecombe, [Mr.] Gibbons, [Mr.] Cowper, [Mr.] Moore, Mr. Lea, [Mr.] Davas, Ambros Dormer.

Justices of peax in the Citie Oxon :

Doctor White, [Doctor] Warner, M^{r}. Todde, M^{rs} Taverner, Denton, Brostrun, Charelton, Croker, Rawlyns.

Endorsed: To the right honorable Sir William Cecyll, knight.

Then follows an index of dioceses & counties: thus f. lxxxv. (*sic*) :—

		Comitatus.	
Bath & Welles		Somerset	f. 64
Carlile		Cumberland	48
		Westmoreland	48
Canterbury		Kent	57
Chichester		Sussex	7
Chester		Chester	80-81
		Lancaster	82
	parcell	Yorkshire	83
	of	Westmoreland	83
Coventry &		Derby	41
Lichfield		Stafford	40
		Salop	42
		Warwick	43
Duresme		Northumberland	68
Ely		Canterbridge	16
Exeter		Devon	70
		Cornwall	70
Glowcester		Glowcester	49
Bushops of		Hereford	9
Hereford		Salop	10
		Wigorn	11
		Radnor	11
		Monmouth	12

Lincoln	Lincoln	20-21
	Bedford	22
	Huntington	22
	Herts	23
	Leicester	24
	Bucks	26
London	Middlesex	61
	Essex	63
	Herts	62
Norwich	Norffolk	58
	Suffolk	46
Peterborough	Northampton	31
	Rutland	32
Sarum	Wiltshire	35
	Berks	36
Winchester	Southampton	54
	Surrey	54
Wigorn	Worcester	2
	Warrick	3
York	Yorkeshire	71
	Nottingham	73

Then follow 3 endorsements of letters to the Privy Council & the volume concludes:

"Collection of original letters of divers Bishops sent to the Privie Councill in the beginning of the Reigne of Q. Elizabeth & certifying the names of persons qualified or disqualified for the Commission of the Peace, as they are affected or disaffected to thestablished Religion. A° 1564."

INDEX TO DIOCESES.

Bath & Wells	pp. 63-64
Carlisle	48-51
Canterbury	57-58
Chester	73-80
Chichester	8-11
Coventry & Lichfield	39-47
Durham	65-67
Ely	23-26
Exeter	67-70
Gloucester	51-53
Hereford	11-23
Llandaff	81
Lincoln	26-33
London	59-63
Norwich	47-48 & 58-59
Oxford	81-82
Peterborough	34-37
Salisbury	37-39
Winchester	53-57
Worcester	1-8
York	70-73

PAPERS

RELATING TO

THOMAS WENTWORTH,

FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

FROM THE MSS. OF DR. WILLIAM KNOWLER.

EDITED BY

C. H. FIRTH, M.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XC.

PREFACE.

THE papers hereafter printed are taken from the Manuscripts of Dr. William Knowler, editor of the two volumes of Strafford letters published in 1739.

On the death of William second Earl of Strafford in 1695 the title of Lord Raby passed to his cousin Thomas, grandson of William Wentworth younger brother of the first Earl of Strafford. This Thomas Lord Raby was created Earl of Strafford in 1711, and was one of the negotiators of the treaty of Utrecht. But the second Earl of Strafford had devised most of his estates, including Wentworth Woodhouse, to his nephew Thomas Watson, son of Edward second Lord Rockingham, and Anne daughter of the first Earl of Strafford. Thomas Watson Wentworth, son of this Thomas Watson, and therefore great grandson of the first Lord Strafford, was created successively Baron Malton (1728), Earl of Malton (1734), and Marquis of Rockingham (1746). He undertook the publication of a selection from his ancestors' papers. They were "selected," says the dedication which the editor addressed to his patron, "from a vast treasure of curious manuscripts by yourself, and published according to your Lordship's own directions and instructions, to vindicate his memory from those aspersions, which it is grown too fashionable to cast upon him, of acting upon arbitrary principles, and being a friend to the Roman Catholics."

Of Dr. William Knowler, the editor of the two volumes printed in 1739, Nichols gives the following account: "William Knowler was the third son of Gilbert Knowler, gent. of Stroud House at Herne in Kent; baptised May 9, 1699. He was educated at St. John's college Cambridge; B.A. 1720; M.A. 1724; LL.D. Com. Reg. 1728. He was chaplain to the first Marquis of Rockingham, who presented him first to the rectory of Irthlingborough (commonly called Artleburrow, between Wellingborough and Higham Ferrers), and afterwards to the more valuable one of Boddington, both in Northamptonshire. He died in December 1773." Dr. Knowler prepared for the press in 1766 a translation of Chrysostom's Commentary on St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, which was never published (Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii., p. 129; see also for further particulars, vol. viii., 401, and Illustrations of Literature, iv. 427).

It is possible that in the editing of the Strafford letters Dr. Knowler had some assistance from William Oldys. "From the year 1724 to 1730 Oldys resided in Yorkshire and spent most of his time at the seat of the first Earl of Malton, with whom he had been intimate in his youth. In 1729 he wrote an 'Essay on Epistolary Writings, with respect to the Grand Collection of Thomas Earl of Strafford, inscribed to the Lord Malton'" (Thoms, Memoir of William Oldys, 1862, p. viii.). Mr. Thoms, following the lead of Mr. Bolton Corney, suggests that this Essay may have been of some service to Lord Malton and his chaplain in the selection of letters for printing (Bolton Corney, Curiosities of Literature Illustrated, p. 113). The Essay itself is probably still at Wentworth Woodhouse.

It remains now to give some account of the source of the papers which follow. They are entirely derived from copies found amongst Dr. Knowler's papers. In 1884 I purchased from Mr. George, the well-known Bristol bookseller, a box of Dr. Knowler's papers, which he had bought from the Rev. T. W. Openshaw, of Bristol

Grammar School, whose wife is descended from the editor of the Strafford papers.[a] The contents of the box were of a very miscellaneous nature. There were a number of Dr. Knowler's sermons, two imperfect copies of the Strafford letters in sheets, the manuscript from which that work was printed, and a number of miscellaneous notes made by the editor during its preparation.[b] There were also copies of several papers relating to Strafford, some of which are now printed. There was in addition a brief correspondence between Dr. Knowler and a certain Henry Goddard, which throws some light on the principles adopted by the former in editing the letters.

"SIR,

"I s^{d} have made an earlier acknowledgment for y^{e} civilities I rec^{d} f^{m} you at Wentworth but was desirous to send you at the same time a copy of y^{e} odd remark made by Sir John Wentworth[c] upon y^{t} celebrated lre of L^{d} Straffords to King Charles to persuade him to give his assent to y^{e} Bill of Attainder, w^{ch} I mentiond to you w^{n} you communicated y^{r} design of publishing the whole collection & s^{d} have sent you much sooner but have been confind by y^{e} weather & did not get to Howsham till yesterday. The remark is in S^{ir} John's hand as follows, *They say my late L^{d} Strafford hath y^{e} original lre under his father's hand & y^{t} this was but to move pity, no desire to die.*

---

[a] Rev. John Knowler, LL.D. m. 1749, Mary Dalton.
|
Mary Knowler m. 1772, Edward Derby, of Boddick, Oxon.
|
Mary Derby m. 1806, Rev. John Hyde, Rector of St. Martin's, Oxford.
|
Edward Hyde m. 1836, Rachel Early.
|
Anne Hyde m. Rev. T. W. Openshaw.

[b] Dr. Knowler's keys to the cyphers employed in Strafford's letters are now in the Bodleian Library.

[c] Sir John Wentworth, of North Elmsal, Yorkshire, was created a baronet July 28, 1692, and died April 25, 1720, aged 47. The family of Wentworth of North Elmsal was an early offshoot of the family of Wentworth Woodhouse, to which Strafford belonged (Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii. pp. 82, 451). The late Lord Strafford referred to is William, second Earl, who died in 1695 (Collins, ix. 410).

"As all the best Historians are clear in y^{e} particular of L^{d} Straffords writing yt lre to the King one can't I think well doubt of y^{e} truth of it, but in my opinion tis so farr fm being a good reason for the Kings passing the Bill y^{t} He is less excusable than if L^{d} Strafford had never wrote such a letter.

"In looking over Sir John Wentworth's papers for this remark I found copies of several lres w^{ch} by y^{e} dates & subject matter of them must have been wrote by L^{d} Strafford wn L^{d} Deputy of Ireland, & in case they be not in y^{r} collection I will send you copies of them, I have taken down y^{e} directions & a few lines at y^{e} beginning of each lre by w^{ch} you will easily see whether they be copies of those you already have."

Mr. Goddard then gives a list of eight letters, copies of which were amongst Sir John Wentworth's papers.

"There are several more letters, but I imagine you have y^{e} originals & shall therefore trouble you no more at present nor untill I have y^{e} pleasure of hearing fm you w^{ch} I hope will be as soon as tis convenient & yt you will be so good to let me know if you have these lres, if not I shall copy them over at leisure & send em y^{e} first opportunity.

"Y^{r} method of publishing the letters I think farr preferable to yt of subscription on many accounts, all who either are or wou'd be acquainted with english history will be desirous to have them so y^{t} you need not fear y^{e} impression will lie long on yr hands; the arguments you have drawn up in defence of L^{d} Strafford's conduct in some particulars y^{t} are objected to him seem to me very just & clearly & strongly express'd, but if I may take y^{e} liberty of giving you my opinion you have confined y^{r}self too much by bringing them into y^{r} dedication to L^{d} Malton, whose zeal for y^{e} true inte[rest] of his Country, the worth of his private character, [and] well plac'd generosity as a Patron &c., will afford subject enough for y^{t} part of yr work & I think ought not to be passed by at a time w^n it must be own'd the moral taste is not very fashionable. Your defence also of Ld Straffords conduct might be somew^t enlarg'd, I imagine, by y^e assistance of y^e letters & you w^d probably meet with some circumstances in the historians of y^t remarkable period for yr purpose, I remember a passage in Dr. Welwood's memoirs, by w^{ch} it plainly appears yt his principal Accuser (& I suppose y^e rest of y^e party of w^{ch} Mr. Pym was a leader) had resolved to endeavour his ruine long before it was possible for him to give them any just grounds; this is y^e passage in Welwood p. 45.[a] When the Earl, then Sir Tho^s Wentworth was upon making his peace with y^e Court, he gave Mr. Pym some obscure intimation of it. Pym understanding his drift stopd him short with this expression, You need not use all this art to tell me y^t you have a mind to leave us: But remember w^t I tell you, you are going to be undone: & remember yt though you leave us now I will never leave you while yr head is upon yr shoulders. I shall not trouble you with any other apology for y^e freedom I have us'd with you on this occasion except yt of y^e obligation I thought myself under to give you my opinion with sincerity w^{ch} is too often an excuse for impertinence in others as well as, Sir,

"Yr oblig'd hmble servt

"HENRY GODDARD.

"P.S. The length and dullness of my lre may I fancy have prepard you to relish y^e following piece of wit:

"A receipt to preserve a Man

"Set him in y^e Sunshine of a Court till his Volatile Spirits are evaporated, take his Reason and place it under a Shade till it is perfectly cool. Consult y^r Herbal to find in a proper soil an armfull of y^e following Spring-flowers, Youth, Beauty & cheerfulness, then take two Summer Plants Economy & Serenity & mix these well together with an equal quantity of self denyal & discretion; when y^r man is fitly prepard add these ingredients to him & set him in a quiet place till they are all incorporated together & you will find He is compleatly Preserved.

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[a] Memoirs of the most material transactions in England for the last hundred year preceding the Revolution in 1688, by James Welwood, M.D. 1700, p. 48.

"N.B. This is a Sweetmeat delicate to y^e eye but exquisite to y^e Taste. Confectioners often miscarry by putting sower & bitter into y^e composition, the best rec^t is at Marston in y^e good Ladys own keeping & the sweetest flowers for y^e use are thought to grow at Oswaldkirk. [This was pinnd into the Lady's rec^t-book by her husband].

"Direct to me at Foston near York, to be left at Mr. Stainton's on ouse-bridge in York.

"To
"The Revd. Dr. Knoller
at the Right Honble the Earl of
Malton's at Wentworth House,
near Rotherham,
Yorkshire."

Dr. Knowler replied to Mr. Goddard in the following letter, of which a rather illegible draft is preserved amongst his papers.

"SIR,

"I am much obliged to you for your kind Letter, and the trouble you so generously offer to undertake to complete the Collection of my Lord Strafforde's Letters. Those that you have are undoubtedly his, but four or five of them are imperfect, & want a complementary Introduction of four or five lines. I could wish you would look into y^t from S^r Arthur Hopton, Nov. 24, 1638, about y^e middle you will find this Passage, *I must not neglect to tell your Lordship, that I find very good Inclinations brought hither from* 308 *concerning* 411. Who 308 is I am uncertain, perhaps you may have it in words, 411 is the Prince Palatine outed at the time of his Patrimony. My Lord Strafforde's Reply to this in your Copy is imperfect, it begins with a Passage concerning Tyrconel, an Irish Rebell & Fugitive, and in speaking of him is used some Cypher, which I am forced to turn into Asteriscs, not knowing how to read it. I shall be obliged to you for a Copy of 2 of my L^d^ Str. Letters—

"Feb. 10, 1638, to Cottington, and

"Feb. 28, 1638, to L^d^ Admiral.

"These I never saw, tho' they are to two favourites, whom his Lordship would be open to, & they fall in a critical time, which makes me more inquisitive & desirous to see them. I shall not trouble you for any more, because it is not intended to publish every Letter, but the Principal ones; there is four or five times the number of Letters uncopied for one transcribed, & yet I believe those that shall glean them over again wont find many things material omitted.

"Historians give a Letter of y^e^ 4th of May to the King[a] & give very different Reasons for it, some . . . . . others strong desire to settle y^e^ Peace of y^e^ Kingdom, as the letter itself bears, Sir John Wentworth, art; where S^r^ John Wentworth learnt my Lord Strafforde y^e^ son had it, I know not, but neither my Lord nor his Father ever saw it.

"The first Reason depends upon y^e^ credit of S^r^ W^m^ Balfour, the second is contradicted by his dying Speech, where he begs the Audience to consider, w^r^ the beginning of a Reformation sh^d^ be written in blood, that he thinks they are in a wrong way: and the 3^d^ He was not capable of. Indeed the whole is contradicted by y^t^ ejaculation of his upon the Bill's being past, Put not your trust in Princes, hinting at y^e^ story's solemn Promise, that he should not suffer in Life, Honour or Estate. However be it as it will I have no thoughts of entring into disquisitions of this nature, my business being solely to copy and print faithfully, & then leave the world to judge from these Letters wrote when the things were in agitation long before any Impeachment was thought of or feared. Whether his Lordship had these traiterous Intentions in every act he did which the Articles charge him with. This point 'tis true is already cleard up in his Answers upon Trial in Rushworth's Collection, but that is so long as I fear few have patience to read it, otherwise I think it would give them full satisfaction. But I must have done & not tresspass too far upon your good nature. I have no such Receipts to send back you gave me, & but little News, perhaps it may not be disagreeable to Lady W. to know, Mr. Wellbye & his Lady are expected in a few days at Rewerfield, they have left Scotland above a week, but this 'tis probable is no News to her Ladyship. Pray make my Compliments at Housham, and return my thanks for this favour, as I heartily do to yourself & am

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[a] The authenticity of the letter is attacked by Carte, Life of Ormond, ed. 1851, vol. i. pp. 275-278. He affirms it to be a forgery, and quotes a report that the second Earl of Strafford used to say that his father told him, on the night before his death, that "he had never wrote any such letter, and that it was a mere forgery of his enemies, in order to misguide the King to consent to his death." But the evidence of Sir George Radcliffe is conclusive proof of its genuineness. See Gardiner, History of England, ix. 361, where the question is discussed.

"Your obliged humble Servt,
"W. KNOW[LER].

"Wentworth House,
"Oct. 22d, 1737."

In a second letter which is not now in existence, Mr. Goddard sent copies of the two letters to Cottington and Northumberland, as desired by Dr. Knowler. They are printed on pp. 7, 8. He also added a list of several others which were amongst Sir John Wentworth's papers.[a]

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[a] As the originals are at present inaccessible, a list of those letters which are not in the printed collection is subjoined :—

(1). The Lord Deputy to the Lord Keeper upon his requesting that Lord Holland might be examined as a witness in the Star Chamber case betwixt him and Sir Piers Crosby, dated Dublin, Dec. 10, 1638.

(2). To the Lord Keeper, 16 April, 1639, on the same subject.

(3). To the Lord Admiral, April 15, 1639.

(4). To Lord Cottington, April 16, 1639.

(5). To Sir Henry Vane, Dublin, April 29, 1639.

(6). To Sir Henry Vane, Dublin, 14 May, 1639.

(7). 24th May, Strafford to ——— (no address).

(8). To the Lord Admiral, 26 May, 1639, Dublin.

(9). To Sir H. Vane, Dublin, 30 May, 1639.

Dr. Knowler acknowledged the copies and enclosures in the following letter:—

"DEAR SIR,

"I return you now not only my own, but what is much more valuable, my Lord Malton's thanks for y^e trouble you have taken about y^e E. of Str. Letters. I drew out a List of those not transcribed & presented it to his Lordship, who upon consulting his books over again found every one of them, & told me, He had passed over them by design, & did not think them proper to be made publick at present. Indeed there was y^t care taken by my L^d Str. himself in having his Letters entered into Books, y^t I am now persuaded there are none but w^t my Lord Malton has, and those which have been copied by some particular friends have not been copied entirely, but y^e principal parts only, as these of S^r John's appear to be by y^e beginnings of them. the Letter you sent of 28 feb. 38 to y^e L^d Adm. has some pretty flowers in it, yet y^e matter is much y^e same w^th y^t of y^e 10 of the same month & year. How y^e Q. was instrumental to Strafforde's Death I am not able to say,[a] but this I know that there was no love lost between them. He c^d not be at her superstitious worship, & had disobliged her in not suffering the Papists to resort to S^t Patrick's Well in Ireland for miraculous cures, & I am persuaded all of that party rejoiced at his Death. I know not yet on w^t footing they will be published, can't guess at the Price of a Copy, nor y^e Number, but be they more or less I doubt not but to be able to procure any number for your friends, & I believe they won't think their money ill laid out. I am entirely against Subscriptions, so that there will be no need of any application till it be near finished, & then y^e quicker they are called for, the better certainly for me, & I will make bold to trouble you with a Letter when y^t time comes. On Wednesday morning

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[a] The notion that the Queen was instrumental to Strafford's death is founded on the mistaken belief that she was his enemy; any hostility to Strafford on her part had ceased to exist long before his trial. See Gardiner, History of England, ix. 366.

Lady M. was safely delivered of a d. The day is highly honoured by the birth of the Princess Louisa the dutchess of Cleveland & now of y^{e} Lady H. W. I made your compliments to Mr. Wellby. He intends for London after Xstmas & I hear has some hopes of sitting.

"I am, D^{r} Sir, your obliged humble serv^{t},
"W^{m} K."

PAPERS RELATING TO THOMAS WENTWORTH, FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

PAGE.
I.—Sir Thomas Wentworth to Sir Robert Askwith,

ERRATUM.

Page v., line 1 of footnote, *for* Rev. John Knowler, LL.D.,
read Rev. William Knowler, LL.D.

ship's Journey from London to the North, and so back to London, 1639, 1640 . . 11
VII.—Mr. John Cooke to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 14
VIII.—How the King should behave when the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Straffordе is presented to him for the Royal Assent . . 20

I.

S^r^ Thomas Wentworth, Bar^t^, to S^r^ Robert Askwith, K^t^.

SIR,

Having been enjoined by some of my nearest friends to stand at this Election for Knight for the Parliament with S^r^ George Calvert his Majesty's Principal Secretary, and having now declared ourselves, are to try the affection of our friends, among which number I have of long esteemed yourself to be unto me well assured. I must therefore hereby move you very effectually, earnestly to sollicite all your neighbours and friends that you have interest in, in York, to give their voices with us at this next choice, which is to be made, upon Christmas day, which your kind and respectfull endeavours, as I shall ever be mindfull to requite, as an argument of your true affection towards me, and in the nature of an especiall curtesy, so will I undertake, when I come at London (for I know we shall have you a Member of the House) to carry you to Mr. Secretary, make you known to him, not procure you only many Thanks from him, but that you shall hereafter find a readiness and cheerfulness to do you such good Offices as shall lie in his way hereafter. Lastly, I hope to have your Company with me at Dinner that day, where you shall be most welcome. And so desiring answer, I remain your very assured and affectionate friend,

TH. WENTWORTH.[a]

Wentworth Woodhouse,
Dec. 7, 1620.

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[a] See Strafford Letters, i. 11, where this letter was originally to have been printed. On second thoughts Dr. Knowler, or possibly Lord Malton, decided to omit it.

II.

The Lord Mohun to the Lord Deputy.

MY MOST HONOURED LORD,

Your great and weighty cause received two days; the first in proofs, the second in censure. Your envious and ingrate enemy (as may they all be) is utterly confounded. Your Honour is advanced and sett off to that politick advantage as the mouths of the clamorous are stopped, and the hearts of your hidden Enemies are convicted, as conscious of your Integrity and Honour. The Court had a full Presence both days, though, unfortunately, my Lord Cottington's sickness held him thence. Relations of particulars are so exactly given your Lordship by others as (though I have quoted all) I spare them as things which I fear would be impertinent and troublesome.

Some observations of discernings between man and man in passage of the censure shall in due time be rendred by your servant. Let envy now mutter, she dare not talk. It was a brave chosen cause, and directed by God for future ends of his own glory in you.

I have also dived into the heads of the ablest Irish here, with whom I have had good Relation since my Lord Chichester's time, in accusation of whom they were then imployed. And, I protest, my Lord, for ought I can discern, they all contribute their generall affections to your Lordship's praise and honour, and vow they have not greater hope in the Gods' than in your Wisdom and Worth, for the Reduction of that Country from Barbarism to Civility.

My Lord, your servant is now settled with his family in London expecting your Commands, wherein he may do service, for otherwise he will assume the modesty to be spare in writing, knowing how flat a thing Complement is, to a man of your Fire and Nature. That Modesty shall shorten these sudden lines, whose closure must give your Lordship this assurance (that for ought your servant can yet discern, for my Lord is not yet in London), the house of Clare stands affected as it was, which I beseech your Lordship believingly to receive from the assured Faith and Duty of

Your Lordships
Most humble Servant,
J. OKEHAMPTON [a]

Nov^{bris} ult^{o}, 1633.

III.

[This letter marks one of the stages of the quarrel between Strafford and Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork. Cork was cited before the Castle Chamber for illegally possessing himself of Church lands—the lands belonging to the College of Youghal being specified. The progress of the case is noted in Strafford's Letters (vol. i. pp. 305, 347, 379, 449). A detailed history of it is given in the diary of the Earl of Cork recently printed by Dr. Grosart (Lismore Papers, Series I, vol. iv. pp. 46, 53, 59, 61, 68, 83, 106, 113-118). Finding himself in danger of a heavy sentence, Cork sought to obtain leave to come over to England, and submit himself and his cause to the King (*ibid.* pp. 117, 125). On Oct. 20, 1635, his messenger returned with letters in his favour, including that from Windebanke which is now printed. The letters, says Cork, "signified his Majesty's pleasure that when all examinations in the Starr Chamber sute were taken and published, and that the Lord Deputy had certefied the state of the cawse and his opynon therof, that then I should be licensed to carry them over and present them to his Majesty, and submitt myself to his own censure. I delivered those two letters to the Lord Deputy, who was veary muche offended with me for procuring them, as if I had appealed from his justice, and from the power and integretie of this State, affirming he would wryte to answer his Majesty and alter that direction if he could and would receav a new command from the King er he would obey this; we discoursed privately in his gallery three howres at the least and in conclusion he promised me to forbear doing or writing anything till his certeficate was prepared till after examination and publication" (*ibid.* p. 130). Strafford however had before this, on 26 August, 1635, written to Laud arguing very strongly in anticipation against the course of action ordered in Windebank's letter (Strafford Letters, i. 459). He now wrote a brief letter to the King, pointing out that the directions given in Windebank's letter were directly contrary to those given him in a letter of Oct. 4, from Laud, and asking which he was to follow (*ibid.* p. 477). He succeeded apparently in obtaining power to proceed with the case, or to stay further proceedings as he thought fit. The Earl of Cork was eventually obliged to pay a fine of £15,000, to avoid public disgrace and a heavier sentence. "I prayed him to consider well," says Cork, "whether in justice he could impose so great a fyne upon me. Whereunto he replyed, Gods wounds, sir. When the last Parliament in England brake upp, you lent the King fifteen thousand pounds. And afterward in a very uncivill unmannerly manner you pressed his Majestie to repay it you. Whereupon I resolved, before I came out of England to fetch it back againe from you, by one meanes or other. And now I have gotten what I desired, you and I wilbe frends hereafter" (Lismore Papers, Series II. iii. 257).]

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[a] John Mohun of Boconnock, Cornwall, was created Lord Mohun of Okehampton, co. Devon, 15 April, 1628, and died in 1644 (Dugdale Baronage, p. 461). See Forster's Life of Sir John Eliot, *passim*. The cause mentioned is the suit between Wentworth and Sir David Foulis. See Rushworth, ii. 215; Strafford Letters, i. 145, 167.

Mr. Secretary Windebank to the Lord Deputy.[a]

MY LORD,

His Majesty hath been pleased to command me to acquaint your Lordship with a proposition lately made to him by the Lord Chamberlain and the Earl of Salisbury in favour of the Earl of Corke; who having offered to submit the business, for which he is now questioned, entirely to his Majesty, and to make such acknowledgements of his offence, and pay such sums of money by way of Pecuniary Mulct, and to restore to the Church such lands and possessions as he is charged to leave unduely gotten from it, as his Majesty shall think fit, when the cause shall be certified by your Lordship. And lastly, that this shall be done with such reservations of Respect and Honour as are due to your Person, and to the Place you hold under his Majesty there, humbly imploring your favour and concurrence herein. Their Lordships have hereupon been humble Suitors to his Majesty to take these Offers into his Princely Consideration, and to remitt only that part of the publick censure, which carries with it not only a present but a future note and stain to remain upon Record to Posterity upon him and his house. His Majesty therefore, well weighing these Offers, and in his goodness liking well this dutifull Submission, which deserves some mitigation, especially in a person of his quality now in the declination of his years, and that heretofore had so eminent a part in the government of that Kingdom, and finding them not altogether disproportionable to his offence as it now stands charged, hath commanded me to signify his pleasure to your Lordship, that immediately upon Publication had in this cause, you make certificate thereof, and of the true State of this Business to his Majesty, and that you forbear to proceed to an hearing untill you shall have demanded of him, whether he will fully and freely submitt to his

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[a] The Strafford Letters contain the Lord Deputy's answer to this letter, which is addressed to the King (i. 477; see also pp. 449, 459, 479).

Majesty or not; which if he do, then you are to suffer the said Earl of Corke (otherwise not, but to proceed against him according to Law) to repair hither immediately into England (any former signification of his Majesty's Pleasure to the contrary notwithstanding) to give his personal attendance upon his Majesty, that so his Majesty may receive from himself such submissions and satisfactions as shall be thought fit. In the meantime, his Majesty expects that together with that Certificate your Lordship shall send your advice, what Sum of Money, and what other satisfaction it is fit he should give both to his Majesty and to the Church, together with whatsoever else your Lordship shall find most conducing to his Majesty's Honour and Advantage. His Majesty is pleased to yield thus far at the Intercession of the Lord Chamberlain and the Earl of Salisbury, who desire nothing but to preserve this nobleman, now so nearly allied to their family, from publick disgrace; which his Majesty holds not unreasonable upon the motives and grounds before represented.

This being all I have in charge from his Majesty at this time, I present my humble service to your Lordship and rest

Your Lordship's
Most humble & faithfull servant,
FRAN: WINDEBANK.

Westminster.
Oct. 22, 1635.

IV.

The Lord Deputy to my Lord Cottington, dated Dublin, Feb. 10, 1638.[a]

I am extremely overjoyed to understand of the greate forwardness expressed in England towards his Majesty on this great occasion, and his Majesty's so speedy advancing to Yorke will give a greate countenance to the cause itself; all here are for peace, and the Scots amongst us very quiet, but, however, wee will bee watchfull over them. Our standing army of 3,000 horse and foote are in good condition; I shall have by Whitsontide eight thousand spare armes, twelve field pieces, and eight great ordinance; I am commanded to quicken my Lord of Antrim to have his forces in readiness, but I protest I neither know nor can I learne of any he hath, I knowing that this terme an extent goes against all his lands for three hundred pounds. It's appointed mee to furnish him with armes but were it not best think you to keepe them for ourselves, at least unless we know how to be paid for them, etc.,

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[a] Copied by Goddard from Sir John Wentworth's papers and sent to Dr. Knowler; see preface, p. ix.

WENTWORTH.

V.

The Lord Deputy to the Lord Admiral, dated Dublin, 28th of February, 163$\frac{8}{9}$.[a]

The use that's made of my absense I feele most sufficiently, and in consideration of it had once obtained leave to come over this spring; but since his Majesty hath ordered my stay, which I shall readily submit to. The question betwixt my Lord Holland and me touching his examination by him avoided by mee pressed is not so much whether I shall have any advantage by it as whether I shall have it at all or noe, so as to my understanding I have granted as much as I coveted, although not in so full a manner as I ought to have had it, and yet why his Lordship should boast so much of his gains good faith I see not, onely little things pleaseth some folks, and I am willing it should be so providing I suffer not by it. The cause were very barren out of which that noble gentleman could not fetch something to magnifie himselfe by, and a happyness perchance it's to some natures that can delight and entertain themselves with small things, with these nowe and then a gathering of cockle shells on the Germain Coaste is a conquest of Britain; but his Lordship is able to do yet more, can gather glory to himselfe by making my Lord Wilmot Governour of Newcastle, nay that he had many yeares since obtained of his Majesty the making my Lord Wilmot a Barron of England, his Lordship may go on, as Sir R. Swift said to a gentleman that had extremely wearied all the company with a most tedious and impertinent discourse, but for all that his Lordship shall be examined, and find it a very hard matter to slip from under my fingers, but I shall advantage my cause as much by the setting forth his priviledge as a Councillor to the concealing of a truth as if he had ingeniously and nobly expressed it.

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[a] This letter was sent by Henry Goddard to Dr. Knowler; see preface, pp. vi., ix. The list of letters which he gives includes several to Vane and Northumberland, printed in vol. ii. of the Strafford Papers.

Lord Holland had for some time been hostile to Wentworth, and had carried stories against him to the King (Strafford Letters, ii. 125, 189). He objected to be examined as a witness in Wentworth's case against Sir Piers Crosby in the Star Chamber, and pleaded his privilege as a Privy-councillor (*ibid.*, 230, 277). Though he was finally compelled by the King's command to give evidence, it does not appear to have been of much value (p 307). See the reports of Crosby's case, Rushworth, vol. iii. 888-900, Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1639. Wentworth had also just received from the Earl of Northumberland, then Lord Admiral, the news that, thanks to the influence of the Queen and the Marquis of Hamilton, Holland had been made General of the Horse, for the northern expedition, in place of Essex (Strafford Letters, ii. 276). With reference to Wilmot, an old opponent of the Lord Deputy, the latter observes in a letter to Northumberland, "The endeavoures I bear to bring in my Lord Wilmot and some are pleased to affect it the rather, as that which would much displease me" (*ibid.*, p. 280).

It troubles me to find your Lordship no better satisfied as to the councells and purposes now a foote for the defence of his Majesty and these Kingdoms; those great armies we speake of will I believe leave most men to seeke where the money can be raised that must defray them, for this not well foreseene aud provided for, to bringe so greate a number together & leave them for the necessitys of life to plunder our own country were a remedy worse than the disease, & no meanes as yet being settled in that important point mouves me to be of opinion his Majesty is of beliefe that by the name of those greate armies and some other private intelligencies he hath there is yet (in the King)[a] some hopes of allaying the storme and quieting the watters, wherein I beseeche God he may not find himselfe mightily mistaken, and so indeed dangerously mistaken, and that his Majesty's greate secresie turn not in a business of so many peeces mightily to the prejudice of his affaires; for he must be a fortunate servant indeed as well as wise that untaught, unguided by his Master's word and directions, can be able to serve according to the mind and liking of his superiors; it would be well for our greate chiefs that whilest they speake of these powerfull armies they would not scorn to take care of lesser matters which may bee effected, especially the securing of Carlisle and Berwick; good my Lord, press the King home in it especially to secure Berwick; it's reported four thousand are to be put into Newcastle, what I beseech your Lordship is your opinion if brought together under that pretence they seize upon Barwick, which they may march day and night too having their vituals carried by sea; certainly this would be a greate security to the English and a greate reputation to his Majesty's prudence and conduct: the bringing in the Earl of Holland was a strain of power God knows to little purpose considering that I do not take him to be so learned a Doctor in the Art as shoud render him worthy to be contended for to the discontentment of those who were placed before and every way as deeply skilled in the practise and profession as himselfe; but now it's done if I may speake it without offence to his Lordship's imaginary plenipotence, I am most confident it's more done than Holland's power was able to do for himself alone, and that he owes the glory of it cheefly to the Marquess[b]—it's not my opinion without grounds that the Marquess reserves some private expedient communicable only with the King, whereby he feedes perchance the passion that most reigns in us with a beliefe to wind up all in conclusion with peace; so long as he keeps all in that temper, he is sure to have a full measure of grace and trust; but when wee shall to our costs feele ourselves disappointed of that expectation, and by that means be cast fearfully behinde in the way to our preservation (which on my faith I believe will prove true), then perchance we may give our eyes the liberty to look about them, and shall plainly discern that ourselves which we will not allow any other so much as to point at, etc.

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[a] Note by Mr. Goddard:

"N.B. The words above *in the King*, tho' writ exactly as I have transcribed them, in the copy, I look upon as a wise remark of Sir John Wentworth's by way of explanation."

[b] *i.e.* the Marquis of Hamilton.

WENTWORTH.

VI.

A perfect account of the days and times of the Earl of Straforde's first and second Journeys from Ireland into England; as also of his Lordship's Journey from London to the North, and so back to London, as followeth:—

My Lord's first Journey from Ireland, Sept. 1639. [By Mr. Littell].

Upon thursday ye 12th of September, 1639, his Lordship came from Dublin, took Ship, and landed upon friday ye 13th; that night to Chester.

Saturday the 14th to Cholmondley.
Sunday the 15th to Stone.
Monday the 16th to Litchfield.
Tuesday the 17th to Coventry.
Wednesday ye 18th to Daventry.
Thursday the 19th to Stony Stratford.
Friday the 20th to St Albans.
Saturday the 21st to London to his Lordship's House in Covent Garden.

My Lord's Journey from London to Ireland, Mar. 1639.

His Lordship remained at London until thursday the 5th of Mar. 1639, on which day his Lordship began his Journey towards Ireland, and in three laid Coaches came ye sd 5th of March to Stony Stratford.

Friday the 6th of March to Daventry.

Saturday the 7th to Coventry.

Sunday ye 8th after Sermon and Dinner to Litchfield.

Monday ye 9th to Stone.

Tuesday the 10th to Chester.

Wednesday ye 11th to Hollywell.

Thursday ye 12th to Conway.

Friday ye 13th to Place Newith in Wales. Sr Art. Tirringham's.

Saturday the 14th ibidem.

Sunday 15th ibidem.

Monday the 16th to Lea.

Tuesday ye 17th at Lea.

Wednesday the 18th to Dublin, and there his Lordship staid untill Good Friday the 3d of Apr. 1640.

My Lord's 2d Journey from Ireland, Apr. 1640.

Upon friday the 3d of April 1640, his Lordship came from Dublin, took Ship, and landed upon the day following, being Easter Eve the 4th; about 12 o'clock at night his Lordship came sick to Chester, and there continued sick at the Bishop's house all the week following, untill Saturday the 11th, and yt night in a Litter to Mr. Wilbraham's house at Namptwich.

Sunday the 12th of April in Sr Thomas Delves his Litter to Stone, and so all the way to Lond. in ye same Litter.

Monday the 13th to Litchfield.

Tuesday the 14th to Coventry.

Wednesday the 15th to Daventry.

Thursday the 16th to Stony Stratford.

Friday ye 17th to St. Albans.

Saturday ye 18th to London, to my Lord of Leicester's House, where his Lordship remained from the saidth 18 of April until Monday the 24th of August following, and the most part of that time very dangerously sick.

My Lord's Journey
to the North,
Aug. 1640.

Monday ye 24th of Aug. in laid Coaches to Huntingdon.

Tuesday ye 25th to Newark.

Wednesday ye 26th to York.

Thursday 27th ibid.

Fryday ye 28th towards night his Lordship being sickly to Topcliffe.

Saturday ye 29th to Darington.

Sunday ibid.

Monday ye 31st back to North Allerton wth ye Army.

Tuesday ye 1st of Sept. to Topcliffe.

Wednesday the 2d to Tollerton.

Thursday the 3d to York.

And back to
London, Nov. 1640.

His Lordship continued at York from the said third of September until Monday the 2d of Nov. that night late to his Lordship's House at Wentworth Woodhouse.

Tuesday the 3d, Wednesday ye 4th, and Thursday ye 5th ibidem.

Fryday ye 6th at Newark.

Saturday ye 7th at Stamford.

Sunday ye 8th at Huntingdon.

Monday ye 9th of Nov. his Lordship came of Horseback to Royston, and in two laid Coaches from thence to London.

VII.

[The John Cooke who addressed the following letter to Strafford was the man who afterwards as solicitor for the Commonwealth conducted the case for the prosecution during the trial of Charles I. A royalist newspaper, Mercurius Elenticus No. 56, published in 1649 a somewhat scandalous sketch of Cooke's early life. After describing him as leaving England for Ireland from reasons very much to his discredit, it continues "Now in Ireland we have him strutting in his plush and velvet, cringing for acquaintance and screwing into the favour of the Earl of Strafford, who at length took notice of his fair deportment, and saw something in him that might deserve his countenance, but all this while knew none of his qualities; nevertheless the statutes at large being then to be printed the Lord Deputy commits the care thereof to this Cooke, whom he appoints to revise the same and see they were faire and truly printed. And deposited a large summe of moneys in his hands to defray the charge of printing. But this worshipful gentleman instead of correcting the prooves proves the second time a publique trecherous knave, for he run into Italy with the money, where he became a papist." For the mere fact of the identity of the Cooke employed in Ireland with the solicitor for the Commonwealth this evidence seems sufficient. The references to Geneva, and other places where the regicide is known to have been during his travels, serve to complete the proof.]

Mr. Cooke to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I owe your Lordship more than I am worth for the gracious aspect vouchsafed me in Ireland, where had I not been wanting to myself I might have passed that time in a comfortable practise, which has been spent in a disconsolate Pilgrimage. However, no man honours you more than myself, who do as cordially pray for your Lordship's Happiness as ever I did for my own Recovery, and not knowing how better to express my humble Duty than by presenting my humble mite (which is but as the pissing of a Wren to the Sea of your learned Counsell's Experience) I presume, in the lowest Degree of Humility that dutifull observance can imagine, to beseech your Honour not to disdain these few abrupt considerations proceeding from an heart fraught with Zeal to do you service, *Quod si fenestratum foret, cerneret Dominatio vestra hanc fixam, haud fictam fidem.* Your Lordship though now confined, yet I hope like Gold refined your Integrity by this Trial will be more conspicuous.

We young Lawyers conceive, that the Article, which most intrenches upon your Lordship is for supplanting and subverting Municipal Laws, and attempting to reduce all in the nature of a Lex Regia, which only the absolute Power of a Parliament can do. I lived in Ireland almost two years, and, *si ex pede Herculem*, I believe your noble Soul is not guilty of any one such single Cogitation. I have known many that have felt the reviving Heat of your Lordship's speedy Justice, whose very Entrails now bless you; and if upon lamentable Petitions, that poor Suitors were not able to contest with the great ones in a circular course of Justice, your Lordship have justly relieved them (that Tantalus like have spent many years in other Courts) in a speedy way of Justice, certainly this is not *supplantatio* but *plantatio*, not *subversio* but *supportatio Legis*, for *bis dat qui cito dat*: Delay of Justice being a kind of Denial of Justice, it being speedy Justice, which like speedy Remedies, cure the consumption of State. Your Lordship always observed, *Quod dubites ne feceris*, never making any Order till clearly resolved by the Reverend Judges, neither did your Lordship take cognizance of any causes but such as had been long depending in Courts of Justice, or those that concerned the Church, whereof there was great necessity, for that I have known Juries to go strangely against the Evidence in those matters. But *dato non concesso,* 'tis clear that such an article is no Treason within the Statute of 25 E. 3, 4, as being rather an advancement than a depression of the King's Honour. For, if a Judge shall deny the View and Essoigns and other Legal Advantages this cannot be Treason, for, if the Common Pleas should hold Plea of Murder, it would be a nullity, but no disloyalty. And if that statute be only declaratory, yet there is a clause, that if any doubtfull case arise, the Determination thereof is referred to the next Parliament. For, no penal Statute is to be extended, the reason whereof is rendered in that famous arraignment of Sr Nicholas Throckmorton recorded by Hollinshead in the Life of Queen Mary, that considering the private affection of the Judges in that they were men, and subject to Error, it would be dangerous to the subject to referr the extending construction of penal Statutes to them, which might either through Fear of higher Powers be seduced, or by ignorance and folly abused. Which report containing much excellent learning about Treason is well worth your Lordship's second Reading. It was doubted upon that Statute of 25, whether to go about to deprive the King were Treason, because the words are, imagine the Death of the King, without which Intention there might be a Deprivation, and thereupon Statutes were made Temp. Hen. 8 & E. 6 to that purpose, as the Book is in Bē Treason 24. And the putting of an old Seal to a new Patent is not Treason, with many other cases. That the Judgment in Treason being so ponderous, the Judges are not to extend any Laws beyond the genuine Interpretation, and if any one had gone about to deprive before those Statutes, although the next Parliament had made it Treason, yet such a party would not have been guilty, because penal Laws are never retrospective, and a man may not regularly be attainted by Relation. *Mutare formulas Legis non est Proditio,* saith Bartolus, *quia non sunt de Essentia Legis*, for *suum cuique tribuere* is the principal, and the several forms of proceeding are but as the Cabinet to preserve the Jewell. All Justice is originally in the crown, and his Majesty constitutes his Judges, *ut Labor ei esset* *levior*, and it is requisite, that every Magistrate should keep his own Jurisdiction, but if one *pro zelo Justitiæ* should encroach, this can be no traiterous Intention, for to make Justice pass with an easy charge, that those brambles of needless expence that grow about it might be rooted out, must needs be most beneficial to the Subject. Amulio Secretary to Grand Cosmio was accused *quod proditoriè Leges antiquas Etruriæ violasset, qui respondet illum celeriorem exequi Justiciam omissis Juris quisquilliis, cui concordatum est formulas Juris non esse ipsum Jus*, and expedite Justice can no more be called Treason, than Mithridate may be called Poyson.

That your Lordship should assume regal Power is very generally reported, but presumptive answer may stand for presumptive objection. 'Tis true you were Lord Deputy not Assignee of Ireland, nothing in your own Right, but *loco Regis, non aliud est esse talem aliud est haberi pro tali.* I conceive it is high Treason to kill a Lord Deputy, as it is of a Prorex by the Civil Law, and I believe your Lordship never extended your Commission. That your Lordship hath born too strict an hand in your Goverment. Who knows what bridle is best for any horse 'till he knows his conditions? the Asiatic must always be curbed, else all is lost. I know nothing, but whilst I was in Ireland the poor cried never so good a Lord Deputy before, as it was said of Pius V *felix est electio quia gaudent pauperes*, those that durst not speak to your Lordship, *ignorabant clementiam vestram*, and in all cases your Lordship did *patienter audire, perspicuè discernere*, and *recte judicare.*

That your Lordship did exercise Marshal Law *tempore Pacis*: for which some say there are Precedents that is High Treason, *quod non capio.* For, exercising military Discipline being *Bellum repræsentativum* and done *in forma Guerræ*, the same proceedings may be used as in a real war; for, *repræsentans debet esse similis et par repræsentato*, the Copy to the Original, as to abuse the Picture of a Nobleman hath been punished in the Star-chamber; and the tender of a Gentlewoman's picture has been decreed to be good in the Court of Wards for the double value of the marriage. And for

Precedents S^r Edward Cooke says, that *duo sunt ad omnes res confirmandas instrumenta, saltem ratio et authoritas*: in authority we see by other men's eyes, in reason with our own, but *sapientis est proprio lumine videre.* It was formerly Murder to kill a man se defendendo, and some Judgments are only *Lex temporis ad unum intenta, quæ non debent trahi in exemplum*: but in all Treason there must be either some *Inimicitia* against the King, or that which the Civilians call *Crimen Perduellionis, quando quis aliquid directè molitur contra Rempublicam talis est hostis Patriæ*, as was in D^r Story 13 Q. Eliz^æ, which tends to the Destruction of the King, for Majestas est major potestas: can a Lord Deputy committ Treason against the State of Ireland? If your Lordship did mistake the Law, can that be Treason? I conceive the Lord Kilmallotkes case did much more approximate the nature of Treason than your Lordship's. Stanley's case, tempore Hen 7, is not *ad rem*, for those Ifs and Ands did imply a doubt of the King's Title, which is *crimen extirpandæ Majestatis.* Nor the Duke of Norfolk's Case any jot parallel, and Brooke in his reading upon 25 Ed. 3, 26, to do Injustice no Treason. That your Lordship should tell a Peer of Ireland, that he should have no other Justice than what was in this breast. These words may admitt a fair construction; for *Rex censetur habere omnes leges in scrinio pectoris sui*, and your Lordship being Lieutenant may intend by that to do pure Justice, and S^t August. lib. de Hær. cap. 86, defends Tertullian, *quod dixerit Deum habere corpus, nam potuit intelligere de corpore concerto, cùm non sit quid inane, sed omnino aliquid, et totus ubique, non autem uti corpus discretum habens partes majores et minores prout habent corpora nostra, ergo non est blasphemia, quia melius est reddere Deo rationem de Misericordia quam de Crudelitate.* And I know all good men desire your Lordship's Justification, that being more honourable for all, as it is more credit for a Physician that his patient recover than to die under his hands.

That your Lordship should be over-indulgent to the Catholicks more than what Reason of State did require, I do not believe, for I knew your Lordship zealous to suppress Mass-Houses in Dublin, which were converted to Temples, and if it be not too much presumption I would say what Monsieur Provost of Geneve said not long since of your Lordship, *Ce Seigneur quand il estoit icy parmy nous avait une tres genereuse ame, et assurement il estoit en l'estat de Grace*, from which there is no falling. What Acts are Treason our French Advocates discourse copiously; and Popham says that Wolfgangue, Treasurer to Maximilian, spent the Emperor four millions, and yet they could not proceed capitally against him. And that case in the 11th Report, fol. 91, that to embezzle Treasure-trouve should be Treason, is such a wasting whereby a Kingdom is actually endamaged, and then *causa causæ est causa causati.*

Your Lordship's Sentence left with Monsieur Cardonie (who rejoices to show the Bed your Lordship lay in) *Qui nimis notus omnibus ignotus moritur sibi*,[a] where there is this likewise, Quamvis *injuria nullos, invidia multos parit inimicos.* 'Tis a high Presumption (unless your Lordship please to give it another name) thus to interrupt your serious affairs, but I hope your Lordship's Goodness, as it doth exceed your greatness, so it will excuse this boldness, and according to the Divine Nature (whose dear servant you are) accept of my affectual desires because *voluntas est mensura actionum, & impotentia excusat legem.* I beseech your Lordship not to wrong my good meaning, to think that I do any way presume to advise your sublime wisdom (though if Solomon should demand an Opinion, he should receive *si non bonum saltem fidele consilium*). This humble presentation of my service, being only what I can testify of it, might any way avail your Lordship, which is a Debt that I owe to Verity. I trust in God, your Lordship will acquit yourself, as did the Lord Wentworth 1 Eliz. for which end my unhallowed prayers shall horarily attend your Honour. The Lord of Life multiply the days of your Lordship's Life, what Period better than Prayer.

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[a] "Among Milton's introductions at Geneva through Diodate or otherwise was one to the family of Camillo Cerdogni or Cardouin, a Neapolitan nobleman, who had been resident in Geneva since 1608 as a Protestant refugee and a teacher in Italian. The family kept an album, in which they liked to collect autographs of strangers passing through the city, and especially of English strangers. Many Englishmen, and some Scotchmen, predecessors of Milton in the usual continental tour, had already left their signatures in this album, and among them no less a man than Wentworth, whose autograph appears in it under date 1612" (Masson, Life of Milton, i. 833, ed. 1881). The album, according to Professor Masson, was once in the possession of Charles Sumner, and is still in America. Strafford's motto is from Seneca. Pope was fond of quoting the same lines (Courthope's Life of Pope, p. 72).

Je suis,
Monseigneur,
Vostre tres humble serviteur à jamais,
JOHN COOKE.

VIII.

[This paper seems to have been written by Strafford himself, for the writer, whilst usually referring to Strafford as "the Earl," twice relapses into the first person and uses the word "me." It is undated, but from the mention of Strafford's letter of May 4, and of the passage of the Attainder Bill through both Houses, it must have been written on or after May 8, on the morning of which day the bill passed the Lords. At nine o'clock on the evening of the 9th the King at last gave way, and promised to pass the bill. The royal assent was actually given, by commissioners, on the morning of the 10th. This paper therefore must have been written on the 8th or 9th, most probably on the former day. Rushworth prints a letter from Strafford to his secretary, Guilford Slingsby (Trial p. 774). Unfortunately this letter also is undated, but it is said by Rushworth to have been written "immediately after the Bill of Attainder did pass both Houses." "Your going to the King," writes Strafford, "is to no purpose, I am lost, my body is theirs, but my soul is God's; there is little trust in man, God may yet (if it please him) deliver me." Then he goes on to refer to some scheme which is his last hope, such as it is. "The person you were last withal at Court sent to move that business we resolved upon, which if rightly handled might perchance do something; but you know my opinion in all, and what my belief is in all these things."

It is possible that Strafford was referring to some plan for his escape from the Tower. According to Sir William Balfour's deposition of 2 June "the Earl of Strafford sent for him some three or four days before his death, and did strive to perswade him that he might make an escape; and said, for without your connivance I know it cannot be; and if you will consent thereto I will make you to have 20,000 pounds paid you besides a good marriage for your son" (Husband's Exact Collection, p. 233).

It is however more likely that he referred to some such plan as the one described in this paper. Strafford had evidently no great confidence in the success of the plan he refers to. "That business we resolved upon," I take to be the plan that the King should attempt to save Strafford's life by a guarantee that he should never again possess political authority or influence. The person who "sent to move that business" I suppose to be either Bristol or Savile, the prompters of the King's declaration of May 1 in which a similar compromise was offered. This paper resembles that declaration in some of its expressions and statements. Each alike insists on the fact that the King was present all through the trial and was not convinced by what he heard. Each alike insists on the necessity of respecting the King's conscience, and proposes the life-long exclusion of Strafford from power as the sole solution which unites satisfaction for the fears of the people with respect for the conscience of the King. It is the same policy developed and brought up to date, with one new argument in its favour added, viz. the unconstitutional pressure by which the Bill of Attainder had been carried. In obedience to the suggestion thus conveyed to him, and in order that the "business" might be "rightly handled" Strafford seems to have drawn up these notes, "How the King should behave when the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford is presented to him."

It was probably sent to the King on the night of the 8th of May. Strafford's letter to Radcliffe, written on the morning of the 9th, is less hopeless than his letter to Slingsby. "Let us see the issue of to-morrow," he says (Whitaker's Life of Sir George Radcliffe, p. 224). His only hope must have been in the possible success of the expedient propounded in this paper. "If the King will speak thus much resolutely, it is thought the Earl might yet be saved." No doubt he expected that the King would at least make the attempt, though he can hardly have expected that it would succeed. Hence, what is otherwise unexplained, the sorrowful surprise with which Strafford received the news that the King had given his assent to the Bill. The news is said to have reached him through Sir Dudley Carleton, one of the Clerks of the Council. "The Earl, amazed, seriously asked him whether his Majesty had passed the Bill, as not believing, without some astonishment, that the King would have done it. And being again assured that is was passed he arose from his chair, and standing up lift his eyes to Heaven, clapt his hand upon his heart, and said 'Put not your trust in Princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation.'" This story first appears, I believe, in William Sanderson's History of the Life and Reign of King Charles, 1658. It is not in the "Brief and Perfect Relation" of Strafford's trial, published in 1647, nor in L'Estrange's "Reign of King Charles," published in 1654, though L'Estrange is particularly full in his account of the passing of the Attainder Bill.

Whitelocke's version of the story is copied almost verbatim from Sanderson.

A third argument that this paper actually reached the King seems to be afforded by the King's letter to the House of Lords on May 11. He asks them to allow him to show mercy "by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in a close imprisonment: yet so that if ever he make the least offer to escape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any sort of public business, especially with me, by either message or letter, it shall cost him his life without further process" (Lords' Journals, iv., 245). Strafford's paper had suggested "A Bill to disenable me from all publick employments, or giving any counsel directly or indirectly, and if the Earl should offer any such thing to make it high treason, and he to suffer accordingly."]

How the King should behave when the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafforde is presented to him for the Royal Assent.

After the title of the Bill of Attainder read, first his Majesty to cause the Earl's letter of the fourth of May to be read. Then may his Majesty speak something to this purpose: That although here are the votes of both Houses, and the consent of the Party concerned for the passing of this Bill, yet his Majesty may not forbear to declare, that he hath found himself exceedingly perplexed in his thoughts, whether or no to give the Royal Assent to the Bill, wherein every man ought to be so charitable as to believe according as Truth is; that he doth and will verily preferr the Peace of his own Conscience above all other respects whatsoever; that his Majesty had been throwout at the hearing of the cause, and now in the conclusion must have the Liberty allowed him to direct his actions uprightly according to what he finds in his own heart. That he understands this Bill endured a great Debate in the Commons House, and finally a considerable Party gave their negative votes to the Bill, and amongst them most of the ablest and best learned Lawyers of the House. That likewise there were in the Upper House a very considerable Party of the Lords, which also voted against the Passing of the Bill. Which difference of opinions leaves a greater Latitude in his Majesty, with the same freedom to discharge his conscience as others in either House have done, and that more especially in regard it is immediately the King that owes an account to God for the Life of the very meanest of his subjects. Besides there are other two considerations which weigh very much with his Majesty, and which in his opinion set a great Prejudice upon this Bill.

The first that the names of such as voted against the Bill in the Lower House were in an infamous manner posted up and down in several places of the town, to affright and take from men the free delivery of their own opinions, which to endeavour is in itself the greatest Breach of Parliament Privilege, and the most dangerous subverting of Fundamental Laws that can be, thus endeavouring to corrupt the Fountains whence we receive and where all Laws are preserved.

The second, that to the great scandal and offence of the Justice of the Land, the Lords have been in a tumultuary way pressed upon, sundry of them very uncivilly treated both in words and actions, others by those means absenting themselves to avoid the Danger, and others as may be thought less at Liberty to give their votes than otherwise they might have been.

That he must profess, as in the Presence of God, he in his conscience holds the Earl of Strafforde free from any act or intention of Treason at all, and for those words charged and spoken in his Majesty's presence, he also avows them truly to have been spoken as the Earl hath set them forth in his answer and not otherwise. And as for the bringing the Irish Army over to reduce this Kingdom, there was never any such thing spoken in his presence, or ever in the thought of him, or any of that Committee to his knowledge, that any part of that Army should have come on English ground. Hereupon to tell them absolutely he dare not become guilty of shedding bloud by pressing the Bill, but desire them to accept of a Bill to disenable *me* from all publick employment, or giving any counsell directly or indirectly, and if the Earl should offer any such thing, to make it High Treason, and he to suffer for it accordingly, which he will faithfully promise to observe, and so no possibility left, that the Earl, if he had a mind to do it, could procure ill to any body.

Or else that his Majesty would pass the Bill conditionally, that the Houses would consent that his Majesty might at after follow the guide of his own conscience, to pardon the Earl his Life.

That thus every man's Conscience and Fears might be provided for, and his Majesty receive from the two Houses a great argument of their Love towards him, without danger to any body, and in some degree enjoy the Quietness and Repose of his own Conscience by their means. If neither of these could be obtained at his earnest intreaty, that so the publick Peace might more speedily be settled to the contentment both of King and People, wherein he would be wholly counselled by them, he must declare absolutely, that for no respect or fear in the world would he be constrained either actively or passively to take away the Life of a man, where his Conscience was fully informed, He was not guilty of the Crime wherewith he was charged.

And yet, if the King will speak thus much resolutely, and move the Lords one by one, as also Mr. Solicitor, Pym, and some of the Principal Lower House men, and in the mean time strictly to command Newport[a] to have *me* and this place in safe custody upon the peril of his Life, it is thought the Earl might yet be saved.

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[a] The Constable of the Tower.

INDEX.

Antrim, Earl of (Randal Macdonell), 8
Askwith, Sir Robert, letter to, 2

Balfour, Sir William, ix. 21
Berwick, 10
Bristol, Earl of (John Digby), 21

Calvert, Sir George, 2
Cardonie, Monsieur, 19
Carleton, Sir Dudley, 22
Carlisle, 10
Charles I. (King of England) hopes to come to terms with the Scots, 10; how to behave when the attainder bill is presented to him, 23; reasons for passing it, v. ix.
Chester, 11, 12
Chichester, Lord, 3
Cholmondley, 11
Conway, 12
Cooke, John, career in Ireland, 14; advice to Strafford, 14
Cork, Earl of (Richard Boyle), quarrel with Strafford, 4; intervention of the King, 5
Cottington, Lord, 3; letter from Strafford to, ix. 7
Covent Garden, 11
Coventry, 11
Crosby, Sir Piers, 8

Darington, 13
Daventry, 11, 12
Dublin, 11, 12

Foulis, Sir David, 4

Geneva, 19
Goddard, Henry, letters to Dr. Knowler v.; from Dr. Knowler, vii. xi.

Hamilton, Marquis of (James Hamilton), 8, 10
Henrietta Maria (Queen of England), xi.
Holland, Earl of (Henry Rich), 8, 9, 10
Holywell, 12
Hopton, Sir Arthur, viii.
Huntingdon, 13

Knowler, Dr. William, life, iv.; letters, vii. xi.; pedigree, v. 2

Lea, 12
Leicester, Earl of (Robert Sidney), 13
L'Estrange. Hamon, 22
Lichfield, 11, 12
Littell, Mr. 11
London, 11, 13

Mohun, Lord (John Mohun), letter to Strafford, 3

Nantwich, 12
Newark, 13
Newcastle, 9, 10
Newport, Earl of (Mountjoy Blount), 25
Northallerton, 13
Northumberland, Earl of (Algernon Percy), letter to, 10

Oldys, William, iv.

Pembroke, Earl of (Philip Herbert), 7
Place Newyth, 12

Provost, Monsieur, 19
Pym, John, vii. 25

Radcliffe, Sir George, ix. 22
Royston, 13

Salisbury, Earl of (William Cecil), 7
Sanderson, William, 22
Savile, Lord (Thomas Savile), 21
Slingsby, Guilford, 20
St. Alban's, 11
St. John, Oliver, 25
Stamford, 13
Stone, 11, 12
Stony Stratford, 11
Swift, Sir Robert, 9

Thoms, Mr., iv.
Tirringham, Sir Arthur, 12
Tollerton, 13
Topcliffe, 13
Tyrone, Earl of, viii.

Welwood, James, viii.
Wentworth, Sir John, v. vi. ix. 8
Wentworth, Thomas, first Earl of Strafford, at Geneva, 19; stands for Yorkshire, 2; quarrel with Sir David Foulis, 4; quarrel with the Earl of Cork, 4; quarrel with the Earl of Holland, 8; criticisms of his government of Ireland, 3, 15-19; itinerary in England 1639, 1640, 11; advice to concerning his defence, 14; his suggestions to the King concerning the attainder bill, 23; his reception of the news that the bill was passed, 22; letters from, v. 2, 7, 8; letters to, 3, 6, 14; letter-books, xi.; motto, 19
Wentworth, Thomas (Earl of Strafford, 1711), i.
Wentworth, Thomas Watson, Lord Malton, etc., i. ii. xi.
Wentworth, William (Second Earl of Strafford), iii. vi. ix.
Wentworth Woodhouse, 13
Whitelocke, Bulstrode, 24
Wilbraham, Mr. 12
Wilmot, Viscount (Charles Wilmot), 8, 9
Windebanke, Sir Francis, 6

York, 2, 13
Youghal, 4

A letter from the Earl of Strafford to Sir Edward Osborne and the Council of the North.[a]

[This letter is printed from a copy amongst the Wharton papers now forming part of the Carte Collection in the Bodleian Library (vol. lxxx., fo. 32). On the importance of the petition of the Yorkshire gentlemen, see Gardiner, *History of England*, ix., 177. The text of the petition is given in Rushworth, iii., 1214. On its origin see Strafford's Trial, pp. 600-632, and the Memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley, pp. 61-64. It was presented to the King by Lord Wharton. The answer of the Privy Council on the King's behalf is very similar in its terms to this letter of Strafford's (Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1640, p. 595)].

[*The Earl of Strafford to the Vice-President of the Council of the North.*]

After my hearty commendacions unto you. Being this afternoone at the Councell Board, there was sent by his Majestie to be read and advised there a peticion to the King from the Gentrie of Yorkshire, whereunto I observed sundry of your hands subscribed. The peticion was much misliked of all, as well for the matter as the way of expression, and held to be unusual in such numbers and in such high tearmes to goe so familiarly and immediatly to the King himselfe, passing by as cyphers not onely the Lord Lieutenants but my Lords of the Councell also, both which we conceive should have been first acquainted therewith. And albeit I confesse it was my hope that you (being my Deputy-Lieutenants, and my readynesse to serve that Country considered) would not have directed complaints of that nature, which concerne so immediately my charge, to any other hands then mine owne, yet that shall not lett me from doing the best offices to the service of the Country that I can. Your answere to the peticion you are to expect from the Lords, onely this I will say, If you had been pleased to have a litle advised therein with me, I am perswaded I could have putt you in to a better way for the ease and protection of that people, and with lesse exception and disadvantage to yourselves. However I moved his Majestie in the behalfe of the country, and found him graciously mindfull of the good affections he mett with there the last yeare, and resolved to use all possible speed and care to represse the insolency of the soldyers, and so to provide for his good people as that none of them should lose a penny through any injury offered by that unruly company; to which purpose my Lord Generall wrytes instantly to all the officers of the army, most severely to punish any soldier which shall trespasse in that kinde, and by example to deterre others from any the like insolency to be offered to the Country people. His Majestie hath likewise been certified of a desire (it seems) made to the Vice-President and the rest of the Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of Peace by Sir Jacob Ashley, that in case his Majesties Treasury might chaunce to arrive some few dayes to late, you would be pleased to give the soldiers credit in the places where they dyett for their victualls some seaven or fowerteen dayes, with assurance that none should lose a penny by that trust, which motion of his was not yeilded unto as I desire it had, in regard I am most certaine the money wilbe justly and precisely payd that had been upon that ingagement issued. Therefore I doe most earnestly desire your present endeavours herein, and that you Mr. Vice-President would presently goe to Sir Jacob Ashley, and use your best perswasion with the country to give the common soldiers credit for their victualls, allwayes provided they trust them not to a greater proportion then six pence a day, and to move them that dyett the soldiers in my name to be contented to doe his Majestie this momentany service, and I doe hereby assume and oblige my selfe, not onely in point of law but in the word of a Gentleman, that in case they should not be repayd (as indeed I am most sure they will) what is due to them by the Treasurer of Warr, I will not receive one penny of my rents in Yorkshire untill I have thereout satisfied every man what shalbe due unto them in that kind and upon this occasion.

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[a] As I did not meet with this letter till after the others had been printed off, it has been necessary to place it after the Index.

I doe againe and againe recommend this particular service, and that you would use your uttermost endeavours and diligence therein; the rather for that I know it will not onely prevent all inconveniences that may happen, but turne finally extreamely to the advantage of the Country, as I shall make use thereof and applie it to their good and benefitt; and if it doe not prove soe, I wilbe content never to expect their credit or beleife hereafter, which in good faith I would not deservedly lose for any thing that could be added unto me in this world. And so desyring to heare from you with all possible speed how you proceed and prosper in this businesse I remaine,

(Signed) Your most affectionate faithfull
friend and servant
STRAFFORD.

London this last
of July, 1640.

Directed
To my honourable good friend
Sir Edward Osborne, Vice-President of
his Majesties Councell established in
the North, and the rest of the
Deputy-Lieutenants there.

July last 1640.
[Endorsed :—] My Lord Lieutenant of Ireland's
letter to vicepresident and deputy
lieutenaunts of Yorkshire.
1. About theyr Petition to the
King for removal of soldiers.
2. About billeting them on the countryes
trust for 7 or 14 days.

HAMILTON PAPERS.

ADDENDA.

EDITED BY

SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, LL.D.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XCIII.

PREFACE.

THE following are the greater part of the letters which I was unable to copy, when I prepared the volume of the Hamilton Papers for the Camden Society. Most of them are to a great extent in cipher, the deciphers being enclosed in square brackets. I succeeded in deciphering these passages by the help of other ciphered letters accompanied with the deciphers in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton, which I was allowed to see some years ago with the sanction of His Grace and the kind permission of Sir W. Fraser, who at that time had charge of the papers. Only four or five of the letters forming part of Lanark's correspondence in 1648 are omitted, as I had no clue to the cipher in which they were written.

If some of the phrases used by the writers are still unintelligible, this is probably owing for the most part to mistakes made by the writers in committing them to cipher. If some of them are due to myself I can but plead that a very short time was allowed me for making the copies, and that I have not since had it in my power to collate my copies with the originals.

to Ancardam[a] whar he iis to requve[b] sum erms[c] and amoniseon and mone[d] when [?] they [?] have it,] and not know whar els to bestow it, and so [shal you have the Prince when they know not whar els to sende him. I most say that [my Lorde Newcastel] and the Louetenant of Irlande [profeses mouch to you, and famaly, and nesion.[e]] The feu clarge[f] we have heir ar as beter againe yow and the whole nation, as your own unhape[g] clerge and profeses that they rather have the indepent[h] prevell then yow. I have often wret to your Lo: and ons mor lat me take the freedom to tell yow [that it mouch concerns you and the whol nesion to proviyde is] that you may be habell to stond upon your own layges[i]]. They mouch pres to have mones[j] heir for the Prince removal, bot hes mani delays put upon them. The Queen and Prince ar both heir and is resolved [the Prince to go to Cales when and wher from thence as ocasion shal ofer] I shall humbly wish your Lo: to be sparinge in your opinion of the disposal of the Prince in ane sorte whatsoever. We have great houpes heir that Kente and the asosiat Countes will doe the bisenes without yow (God grant it may be done) but it will not be weill for yow if yow have no hand in it. I often wrette to your Lo. I know not if they cum to your handes.

---

3. LORD DIGBY TO THE EARL OF LANARK.[k]

My LORD,

618, Jan. ? I have received from [my brother Dives,][l] and from [my secreatarie who waited on you at London] an accompt of such noble expressions of yours concerning us, notwithstanding those misfortunes that with a lesse just and generous nature might have exposed me to lasting prejudices, that I am encouraged by them to make this addresse unto you of my most humble service and acknowledgements; noe way doubting, but that, since you are pleased to admitt of so faire an interpretacion of what reall I ever esteemed the greatest unhappinesse of my life (I meane the part what I was necessitated to beare in some disservice to you and your noble brother) nowe that [wee are united in publick interests][a] as to lett you and him see by my constant faithfulnesse, and zeale to your service how unnatural and forced a motion any thing was in mee to the contrary of what becomes 1648, Jan. ?

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[a] Amsterdam.

[b] Receive.

[c] Arms.

[d] Money.

[e] Nation.

[f] Clergy.

[g] Unhappy.

[h] Independents.

[i] Legs.

[j] Monies.

[k] The Scottish Commissioners, of whom Lanark was one, left London on January 24.

[l] Sir Lewis Dyves, half-brother of Lord Digby.

My lord
Your most humble and
most affectionate servant
6, 2, 7, 10, 41, 20, 31, 40, 13.

4. ——— TO THE EARL OF LANARK.

MY LORD,

Your expressions highly endeare and might if possible make mee more yours: at this time there is nothing of moment to give you any informations of. The Generall dines this day at the Tower, where I believe some results wilbe about the Citty: what you shall know by my next. The busines wee whisper'd about I am in hope may succeed. I sent a messenger thereabout, and with probable instructions for the accomplishment: and since it is more then a weeke and noe returne made, I conceive it well takes as to the project, and desire the continued conjunction of your prayers as to the successe, having soe litle of consequence at present to write, I shall referr my enlargement 1648, Feb. $\frac{1}{11}$.

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[a] Something is omitted in this involved sentence.

48, Feb. $\frac{1}{11}$. in it to the next opportunity, against when I shall doubtlesse be furnished with abundance (and if expectations with eminent wishes faile not) of pleasing newes. I am and shall to the highest manifestations I am capabl of appear

My Lord
Your Lo^{ps}
most humble servt.
409.

February the first
$164\frac{7}{8}$.

As I was sealing up this, my messenger brought this inclosed and assurance things goe well in the whisper'd businis, but not a word thereof for your love sake.

I had an other w^{ch} I delivered to your wife concerning my father.

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5. James Fenne to Edward Edgar.

Feb. the 3, 1647.

47, Feb. $\frac{3}{13}$. I presume you[a] that have we goode intelligence will not care for what falleth beside the cuppe, for mine is of noe more consequence then such. Leate not to omitte servying of you, I have sente you what, this weeke, hath beene any waies advertised to me. Abusnehag[b] shall come again to the King upon a new undertaking treatye, therefore consequentelie imagine *ex ungue leonem.* The Queen [is] in greate irresolution whether [the Prince maye bee trusted with the Scots] or noe. Unlesse you will give [Germyn, Digbye, et cetera,] such conditions as I believe wille neether bee thought consistent with the safetie nor honnour of the future transactions; otherwise 'tis a contradiction in yt selfe, and muste consequently debauch more moderate men from the service of [the Nobility of Scotland] then y^t can gaine or pacefye the violent and unusefull. For my owne perticular I confess I agree totallie with your principales, never to foment a new warre in case yt can be avoyded, but rather endeavour to comprimize all interests by treatye, because noe partye, choose w^ch you will of the 3, but is unsecure enough withoute yt. However, if yt bee decreede, you nor I cannot prevente yt; nor doth any thing afterwardes remaine to bee don onely to maneige yt to the best advantage with a perpetuall reflexion towardes peace and the ancient liberties of our respective counetries. Theire is att this present a new entercourse of negotiation now begunne between [the Queen] and [Ireland] by [Musire's [a]] mediation, purposely to retarde [the Prince going into] Scotland, hoping by that meanes to frustrate the alliance by destroyeing the season of the confidence. All matters here continew much in the posture you lefte them, onely they bring troopes more or lesse dayelie into the Citty and doubtless meane to garrison severall greate towns that ar convenientlye [seated] for itt. The resolution of your Convention is that we all looke uppon as the guide starre of the daye, and, in the interim little will-bee publick of intentions to the future. Remember in yt the olde rule *ut paces jent integræ* and a little sacrifice the greateness and injuries of your familye to the publick rather then obstinacye or disdaine, for unlesse there be [a general remission] of sinne in Scotland, noething will come of all this seede; wherein even [Muntrose] himselfe muste not bee omitted, though I knowe 'tis *durus sermo*. I am confident considering the tyme hee hath had to looke, and experience of the King and Queen, will bee no harde matter to lett him see the to much fougge [b] of his former zeale; and to enclyne him altogeither to the publick. These I guesse may bee considerations equaly proper whether you make warre or peace, because besides the obligation yt careeth along with yt of restoring men to there owne homes, 't will 1647, Feb. $\frac{4}{14}$.

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[a] Fenne is evidently an Englishman, and Edgar probably stands for Lanark.

[b] *Sic.* Perhaps Ashburnham, see *Hamilton Papers*, 150.

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[a] Perhaps Mazarin.

[b] Fougue.

1647, Feb. $\frac{5}{15}$. bee safe and withowte w^{ch} noe other peace, but every minute will bee tottering into a warre againe. [The Westerne parts] will bee unanimously yours, if the Prince come, of w^{ch} now all my doubtes are knoweing how many officious ignorant persons there be theire have ever beene averse to the publick; and I beleeve so that [Culpeper], whoe is the oracle of that place, out of [Ashbunams] consideration is like enough to oppose yt with all his rethorick. Yf yt happen soe, I cannot suspect then that I, whoe have ever beene a sufferer visiblye for the publick, and perticularlye disgraced for avoweing I thought yt better the buisnes shoulde ende by a peace then victorye, shall bee as well looked uppon as those have don noething but the contrarye, and now, as they saye in Fraunce, *sont les penitents aux abboyes de la morte*, therefore beeing happilye the negotiation maye bee further advanced from thence with you then I can have notice of att this distance, bee pleased to take care of your servant both by y^{r} brother's meanes and your owne in that poinete, else as Cardinall d'Ossat writte to Hen. the 4 from Rome, I shall wish I had don soe toe; and holde yt rather a weakeness then vertu to bee honnest. Truely I can shew soe goode cardes uppon this occasion; as if ever there bee a place of publick audience amongst you for such as I am, I will not be affrayed to laye both my complaintes and pretences uppon the carpett; though I hope yet I am not soe inconsiderable to bee putte to that waie of mendicancye. I am confident the breaches heere are never to bee peeced upp. Take heede of Soliman's beeing carried in a litter to the fielde againste you; for every little matter giveth such an abundance of jealousie. Yt is to copious a field for soe narrowe a substance as the capacitye of man to manure as yt, w^{ch} maketh mee conclude as confusedlye as I beganne desireng speedilye to heare from you.

Your fayethfull frend ever
and humble servant,
J. Fen.

6. 499 TO THE EARL OF LANARK.

MY LORD, [London, Feb. 10?] 1648.

Soe unworthy of you are my papers that I should not reasonably send you a second and yet they being soe, I may verie pardonably hasten another to apologize for that which went before. Besides other defects, it was much wanting in the use of the cypher, to which way of writing, I confess myself not much used. All men, my Lord, are here about at gaze, looking Northward for a better settling to their expectations, and are soe impatient of waiting for your resolves that men undertake to spread them as things already declared. Most talk wildly, and tell strange stories, bringinge your judgments to theires. Some, not without confidence assure us by diverse demonstracions, that Scotland will not discountenance the present proceeds of England: others say that Scotland will not neglect the honour and advantage of being a ballance heere; an issue to these our hopes and feares wee violently long for. And truly My Lord (but that I may seeme to favour myself by the intimation) I would have your leave to say that it will bee verie necessary some persons (whom you may have faith in) bee helped to understand at least your publick councells and transactions in which both kingdomes are concerned, by which the truth may oftetimes bee faierly vindicated from such gloss as the art of malice will studiously asperse it with. But, my lord, I am now too bold with you, and am gonn beyond the instructions given mee by 241. The varieties of this weeke have not bin many. The declaracion justifying the votes against the King[a] hath spent most of it. Some apprehends it to bee a long, tedious, unsatisfactory satisfaction: wherein are enumerated all his faults and errors charged home upon his single selfe: some clauses are recommitted (or perhapps laied

1648, Feb. $\frac{10}{20}$

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[a] Taken into consideration on Feb. 5, passed the House of Commons on Feb 11.

48, Feb. $\frac{18}{28}$? by) one concerning the death of K. James, another touching the designe[a] of destroying severall lords and commanders of Scotland. Tomorrow it will bee againe reported. Mr. Sadler's pen laced it together, which hath allsoe finished an answer to the Commissioner's papers. The Presbiterie is reviving and seemes to bee strongly encouraged for present satisfaction, and it is not doubted but that [Mr. Ashurst] will bee able to satisfy [their clergie] though it bee feared that [Marshall is noe more in[so]much] reputation will [them as heretofore]. Sir Jo: Maynard made the Lords merry, denyed them right of judicature, refused to kneele, but as a compliment (as hee said) hee bowed as low as a Bishopp to the altar. The lords fined him,[b] and gave him a further time to consider his duty. The Lords gave baile this morning for theire appearance, they beeing to answere, the 11th instant. [The armie] continues still in the principles for [levelling] which spread afreshe. [Soldiers are] a stomachfull. Som [Colonells are discontented.] Rich (upon the score of Sir H. Vane) is one. Sir H. Vane disclames earnestly, and [Ireton] is not pleased, though I think not on the same ground. The Lifeguard are to disband presently, but I do [?] no[c] that it is to be done, so —? though no[?] Colonell Arison is not pleased: his regiment is said to be disbanded or purged as affected too much to ——?[d]

I have my lord troubled you too long, I shall make hast therefore to the subscription

My lord

most humble ——?

and servant

---

[a] *i.e.* the Incident. [b] On Feb. 5. [c] Know. [d] ? the Levellers.

7. Dr. Alexander Fraser to the Earl of Lanark.

Sir,

1648, Feb $\frac{15}{25}$.

Your [slow journey and the adjourning of your meeting] hath only multiplied teares and jealousies [in] cavaliers [and other persons] (ignorant and enviefull of [Scots' honour and honesty)]. This day [the English Commissioners' letter there[a] reade in Parliament] in which they [assure the Parliament they have found more friends to Parliament and army then they thought to have fund. Upon] Friday last[b] at the voteing of [Parliament's] of the declaration of the Commons of England [Cromwell made a sever] invective [against King and] monarchicall government. [They sent messenger Cromwell to the Lords, that if the Lords would pass the four bills and] disclaim [Scots' assistance, they would] suppress [their declaration. The lords contemned their— ?, and] expressed [much] aversion [to army, Parliament and all that party]. Upon the return of this messenger, Parliament voted five thousand] soldiers [to go[c] King and messenger Cromwell to be one of the Lords in bedechamber, and it is confidently beleived that [upon[d] Cromwell will march] furthwith [with the best part of his horse and foot to the North, and if they] possesse Beruic and Carlil, your part will[e]] small and of no consideration. I much apprehend [that] some[f] of [your great Lords] in his wonted perplexed way looks here and in France] to perswade the Queen that [no] considerable action [can be] expected [from Scotland unless Argyll be the head of party] acting [for the King in Scotland, and] powerfull person [is despatched to Queen with instructions for that purpose. I assure your Lordship that there is underboard dealin]: the

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[a] *i.e.*. the letter of the English Commissioners in Scotland. See C. J., v. 462.

[b] Febr. 11.

[c] ? to guard.

[d] ? upon this.

[e] ? will be.

[f] ? some one.

1648, Feb. $\frac{15}{25}$. particulars you may have [from a friend] That monster of follie and knaverie (Disington[a]) is come from France, who] openly professes [that P. of Wales hath no desire] nor affection [to come to Scotland] and [looks to] perswade and assure [Parliament that France will not part with P. of Wales,] with manie other things [of treasonable nature, of which] you shall heare more fully [when I shall] discover [the design]; till with tyme [I shall] give [intelligence to breake the design, being bound to silence. It will fit to send a veri] prudent [man of][b] no faction [to] aquaint you how [affairs goes, that;[c]] not that I distrust [the Queen, P. of Wales, Jermyn, but] some inferiour disaffected persons [to the design. If you] compose not in tyme your differences (if anie be) [you will louse your friends and party in England. Ormond and his J. Berkeley are shiped and gone to France, and that and other] newes from Ireland] hath much dejected this day [Cromwell and his party. Lord Northumberland will[d]] presently gone for France; Norfolk[e] looks much to disswade, but all in vaine, and passionatly they desire [Northumberland [?] to meet Prince of Wales in Flanders] which is more impossible then anie thing they could desire. I have [no more] of consequence [to impairt to your lordship], but well ever remaine [your Lordships servant.

London, 15th Febrie.

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8. 282 TO———?

SIR, February, 15.

That the declaration agst his Matie[f] is past the House of Commons and wilbee publike in 2 or 3 days I am confident wilbe no newes: [then what to expect is evident, yet] 'tis sayed the King is well and merry [but what they intend you may judge by their voting the shipps for the somers' fleet the [Parliament of Englands' not his Majesty's] is the [Hollanders till they [had got] the mastery [used the King off Spaine's name. The Earle of Denbeigh's going for France is a fable ane[a] I hope as false as that yeo and they here are agreed which is] confidently affirme[d but not beleived]. However [they fayle not to irperse[b] yee as much as] may [be. Since my last I have had twice advide[c] from France] implying that they persue their interest as actively as rely on your declareing, and then] the Prince is for Holland]. Pray God, [they persue their interest as actively as they] ought. Our party here is all for yee, and] discontent[s the more then ever.] The Diurnall will tell you [publike actions, but I] speake [from men of honour and] interest [who expect] nothing [more then your presence, and then the tide will qickly turne. I have] offered [my way to France of serveing them and yee. If they comply] with [it. I shall act my part.] how[ever], in confidence [of your reality to serve our distressed King, you shall as I may have[d] the weakly advice of 1648, Feb. $\frac{15}{25}$.

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[a] Dishington.
[b] ? will be.
[c] ? there.
[d] ? will be.
[e] ? Norwich.
[f] Justifying the Vote of No Addresses.

Your faithfullest servent

282.

Shrovetuesday
15 Feb. 1647.

The L^d^ Willoughby of Parham hath wisely absented himselfe a weeke since, and the declaration is come forth this day.

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[a] and. [b] asperse. [c] advice.
[d] Perhaps "the power" is omitted.

9. EDWARD ANDREWS TO THE EARL OF LANARK.

MY LORDE, **February 20.**

1648, $\frac{\text{Feb. 20.}}{\text{Mar. 1.}}$ I have here enclosed sent your Lop^{p} y^{e} cypher I promised you, which I had sooner performed if my very urgent occasions had afforded mee tyme to have composed it. As soone as I knowe that it is come safely to your hands, I shall constantly (by all opportunityes which I can lay holde on) give your Lop^{p} the best advertisements of such occurrences here as I can come to the knowledg of, and shall not fayle to apply my endeavoures to whatsoeever may best manifest mee to bee what I really am

My lord your lop^{ps}
moste humble
moste faithfull and
moste obedient servant
ED: ANDREWES.

Feb. the 20th, 1647.

If your Lop^{p} knowes mee not by this name my L^{d} Lauderdalle well informe you.

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10. JAMES FENNE TO MR. EDWARD EDGAR.[a]

Feb. 21 $\frac{1647}{1648}$ new stile.[b]

1648, $\frac{\text{Feb. 21.}}{\text{Mar. 2.}}$ I heare you have beene ill since y^{r} returne, else I presume I shoulde have hearde from you in answer to some of those I have written. They saye Ormond is gon from his uncle's howse [into Ireland[c]] with approbation of the Parl^{t} of Scotland [to comand] the armie in Ireland, Scots army.] He is a most gallant man, yeate was bredde att the feete of Gamaliel and a greate frend of Digbyes, as you may see yf you please in print,

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[a] See p. 4, note [a].

[b] This probably does not refer to the day of the month.

[c] Should this be "France"? See the next letter.

1648, Feb. 21. / Mar. 2.

therefore though the consideration bee most proper in yt selfe 't well deserve very much caution to mingle the to physikes in that one prescription togeither soe equalye the chimicall maye not totalie overcome the safetye of the Galenistes; otherwise remember the olde verse *sic vos non vobis,* and prepare y^{r} lodgings before hand att [Ludlow] and [Pendenis]. A greate deale of candor to your service maketh me saye this and noe private ende or consideration of my owne, therefore praye soe esteeme of yt. The hopes of that and the underhand propositions made by the [Papists in Irland] [to] the Queen, yf anything doe, maye retarde the [cloc[a] of the Prince in al union with Puritans in England.] This cometh to mee uppon noe ill ground, however I confess I holde faste to my former positions to praye for an accomodation by treatye yf yt bee possible; wherein you shall finde mee fixed. I have noe more now to saye, but to pray for y^{r} well dooing and recoverye if there bee cause, not doubting youl lett mee heare shortely from you, and take that care of your servants they have formerly expressed towardes you.

JA: FEN.

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11. 282 TO ———

MY EVER HONORED LORD, [London] February 22.

1648, Feb. 22.

I have received yo^{rs} of the 15 and cannot but really acknowledge your favor [in communicating your proceedings, of which I shall make the best use I can to encourage our party]. And I must as perticularly give you thankes for your resolution [in order to my advantage with which I am exceedingly satisfied.] In retorne of w^{ch} I can only say that since my last, it is discovered that the Marq^{s} of Ormond is gonne into

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[a] *Sic.*

8, Feb. 22. Fraunce where t'is believed that hee meetes the L^ds^ Antrim and Muskery, commissioners from Ireland to setle the Kingdome in order to his Ma^ts^ service, and 'tis reported that all parties are agreed in Ireland, and that Inchiquen is joyned in the confederacy w^th^ them: [if so you will have more helpe then wes expected. Doubtles M. Ormond suddaine departure is not but for some good end. From France I have not] heard [lately only they heere have intercepted letters from the Queen to the Kinge, and it is reported an other letter from the D. of Yorke to his Ma^tie^ was taken implying his obedience to his father's commands of speedily getting for Scotland. Uppon this 'tis said hee is to bee confined to the Tower: others say that hee, his brother and sister are to be sent to the Ile of Wight (though not to theire father) that so one guard may suffice for all. Yesterday Judge Jenkins was brought to the Comon's bar and there refused to kneele and boldly denyed theire jurisdiccion: however they intend speedily to condemne and execute him by an Ordinance, and then by this example who wilbee safe? He was exceedingly applauded by the people in his passage to and from the House. Pembrooke Castle still holds out against the Army, [and all Wales expects but a faire advantage to gett out of slavery]; Plymouth likewise disputes it with them about arreares; and to stop theire mouthes 6000^{li} is ordered them, w^{ch} the Citty, as I am told, refuse to lend. As yett Fairfax is heere, but hath made made no further entry uppon the Citties priviledges, who keepe theire armes and stand on theire owne leggs. [Mr. Ashburnham and his party still hover about] in the country and sometimes in the Citty, and I heare are as much trusted [by his Ma^{tie} as ever]. Some say [they have a designe to act] some [what to cleare of all aspersions if it prove for his Ma^{ties} advantage I am sure you wish it success.]

And so
Your faithfull
humble s^{r}vant
282.

22 Feb. 1647.

12. JAMES FENNE TO MR. EDWARDS EDGAR.

Feb : the 28 ? 1647.

1648, Feb. 28?/Mar. 9.

My last weekes dispacht I hope you received. I contineu this onely to lett you see my vigilaunce towards y^r service and those where you ar. We heare [The Prince's resolution is taken withowt more ceremonye [to come into Scotland.] Yf that bee soe w^ch questionless you ar best able to informe mee of, have a care to rivette your owne partye soe before hand that new men doe not interpose to the destruction of the whole designe, for the same violent persons you knew and suffered under before, will come theyther along withowte dispute, but what disputes theyle make yf they maye have any influence uppon the counsells, God knoweth. You see how disunion ruined us before. Yf wee ar borne to perish the seconde tyme by the same disease 'tis better never to doe any thing but bee passive in all rather then fall oute of the friing pan into the fire. You see my honnest plaineness is ever the same, I confesse I abhorre all that violent caball from my harte, whoe noething but studdied to hinder as accomodation by treatie att Oxford, w^ch hath brought the monarchie of both kingdoms to the sad posture att this present they ar in. Secure mee in this scruple therefore speedelye, and noething else can hinder all you desire from hence. In the meane tyme bee confident noe accommodation can bee made with [the Independents] by [the Scots]. [The English Parliament] beginne now to raise great hopes to themselves from these disunions approaching the publick and doe not stick almost to declare yt. The buisness I wrote laste to you of in Ireland is all this tyme machinating by them both there and in France. They as a tribe[a] meditate noething but revenge and hate the libertyes of the counctrys, which indeede is my proper quarrell

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[a] ? that meditate.

1648, $\frac{\text{Feb. 28 ?}}{\text{Mar. 9.}}$ to them. The Queene, letters saye from Fraunce, hath settled the Prince's howseholde aparte from hers. My lord Gerrard is greatly in favour with him upon Prince Rupertes score, *malum omen futuri*, therefore I conclude as I beganne, make sure of a counter-ballaunce, and that those persons they woulde not have come oute of that respect, as havinge to public sowles bee sure they are not for that reason omitted, when they come by waie of demanding right and justice, yf noe other capacitye: for in this case the interest of any one private person soe enclyned or persecuted, is the interest of the whole publick weale, soe desiring to heare att large from you what

Youl comaund y^r humble Servant
I rest
JA: FEN.

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13. EDWARD ANDREWES TO THE EARL OF LANARK.

MY LORDE,

1648, Mar. $\frac{1}{11}$. I have received your Lop^{ps} of ye 21st of Feb. yesterday, and shall have great care y^t y^e enclosed bee securely conveyed to your cozen; having this day a good opportunity. By the laste poste I sent your Lop^p a cypher which I hope is come (ere this tyme) to your hands. The late [—— ? can —— on —— ?] well be to [—— ? hath] almoste rendered the Duke of York's escgape] impossible: at least [for a tyme he hath engaged himself to the powers not to escape but] if in order to the necessity of having at (in the present conjunction of affayres) effected, it shall be thought expedient [to persuade him that a promise] of that prejudice [to King and himself without his father's knowledge or] consent [can not bind] him and by that means prevayle [now with D. of Y. to be willing], the way I once proposed to [you] is feseable [and unsuspected]; but it must be y^r work of a little tyme; and if your Lop^p shall thinke fitt to give it, I shall desire your oppinion concerning it. [My way of adress to the King is yet sure and] I thinke the [one remaining.] The business of association is very hopefull, and I am most confident of what has been formerly promised by some persons in the cittie be performed, which I finde will not bee done withoute the continuance of [Scotland,] as substantiall [assistance may thence] be relyed on. I shall add noe more for the present, but that I am my Lorde your Lop^ps 1648, Mar. $\frac{1}{11}$.

moste humble and moste faithfull servant
Ed. Andrewes.

March ye 1st, 1647.

The enclosed from the [King] came hither the last week, whilest I was in the country, but not to my hands till this evening. I was not sure it was for [you], it not being mentioned in mine whoe it was for till Mr. [Horwod] informed mee.

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14. ——— ? To the Earl of Lanark.

March 3.

I moght have been in great disorder as weal as other of your friends, if your letter hade not come very seasonably for to convince the reports of those mutino[us] Scots would invade the natione. Thanks be to the wisdome of your powerfull army, that give them work att home. Hop of gayne and perticular animositye may secure our fears, if we can be faithfull to our pious principles, and purge the hous and army of malignants such as [Lanerick][a] we are safe. Great industry has[b] used to Kinge party]. Be sure to mak [that] yours [concerne, else yow are ruined. Argyll] will be right [when Par- 1648, Mar. $\frac{3}{13}$.

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[a] Is this a joke or is the right name wrongly ciphered?

[b] ? has been.

1648, Mar. $\frac{3}{13}$. liament] has [paid].[a] Doe all you can to [gain England]. Mak [hast] if you expect [assistance][b] North[umberland] or other [lords] you will be deceaved. It is believed M. Harford is not vigilant [in frends]. Must be [flatterede: Church] kept humble. Carlyll co.[c] is yours hartily.

March 3.

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15. JAMES FENNE TO EDWARD EDGAR.

March 6, 1647.

1648, Mar. $\frac{6}{16}$. I have received onely 2 letters from you with this but for the addresse I conceive M^rs^ Edgar never fayleth, therefore yf there bee any stoppe 'tis farther of. The papour I desired from you I saye noe more of, leaving yt wholie to your discretion, as I did then: onely I beleeve youl heare speedilye of the Princes remove oute of Fraunce, and then, yf the occasion present yt selfe, with his presence amongst you I presume you will recomend y^re^ servants attendaunce as hee shall, when the scene varies to other partes, fayethfullye intend y^r^ goode, and y^r^ Brothers. The resulte of ower parliaments in Scotland plese to write to me, with the sooner, as alsoe some opinion touching my particular, by waye of advise to the fayethfullest of your creatures

JAMES FENNE.

I consider when my freindes can not write what they would they says leaste of those perticulars as remedelisse, though I am not soe wedded to my fancye as not to parte with yt very easilye neare the presence of y^r^ judgement.

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[a] Argyll had money owed to him by the English Parliament, and the suggestion is that he would join the Hamiltons as soon as he received it.

[b] "From" seems to be omitted.

[c] The Countess of Carlisle.

16. 282 TO THE EARL OF LANARK.

MY EVER HONORED LORD,

Yours of the 29th past came safe, yett was not altogeather so 1648, Mar. 17. full of assurance as the former though I hope by this time yee have overcome the difficulties [the Kirk gives you: otherwise I may feare wee of the Nobility may fall into the same] prejudice [all those of honour have heere by the violence of that spiritt; but I hope yee are too wise and couragious to be swayed by[1] persons [so much your dependents]. I can say no more of that subject, but shall acquaint you with what hath lately come to my knowledge, first, from Fraunce I heare both the Queene and Prince are prepareing to quitt that kingdome, but whether they intend is not yett discoverd, only thus much the Queen intends to runne the Prince's fortune. I believe they will receive no stop there, for Mr. Ellis, a lawier of the House of Comons, is retorned theare unsatisfied, beeing sent to engage Cardll Mazarini and the State to stop the Prince his journey. Those that come from Ireland report that Kingdome to bee in a manner lost to the Parliament party, and Inchequin and Sir C. Coote discontented. Heere the Houses have been busied in perfecting theire answere to your declaration, which, beeing past the Comons, was likewise on Satterday past in a full House of the Lords (being five), whereof Manchester beeing one dissented. 'Tis reported that hee, the E. of Holland and Countess of Carlisle are goeing to the Spa to avoyde the storme they have just cause to feare. The Lords have likewise sent downe to the Comons an ordinance of indempnity for all those that with the Speakers deserted the House and went to the Army, which was debated on Satterday in the Commons House, who, insteed of concurring, referred it to a Committee to report on Thursday the reasons why they deserted theire charges, and 'tis thought they may rather suffer then bee acquitt, for the

1648, Mar. $\frac{7}{17}$. Presbiterian party carried this against them, 'tis reported likewise that the Speaker of the Commons House shalbe discharged and Mr. Grimston seated in his chaire. Theire great seale is taken out of his and Manchester's hands and disposed to the custody of the E. of Kent, Sir Tho: Widderington and Mr. Whitlocke. Uppon the dispute on Satterday Martin prayed the House not to differ so much; but eyther to bee all for the King or all against him. The Army is still mutinous, and the Liefe Guard so discontented as that a Reg^{ts} of Horse seeing the ill usage those had received in the manner of disbanding without money or good words, have sent to require satisfacion on theire behalfe. Theereuppon the disbanded are this day to attend Cromwell and to receive such satisfacion as hee hopes may please them. The Army hath lately condemned 7 souldiers for severall crimes but dare not execute them, martiall law beeing growen odious amongst them. But the news of this day, if it bee true is best of all, w^{ch} is that Morgan late Governour of Glocester is at the head of 3000 men in that county and hath encountred some of the Army, slayne about 30, and taken above 100 prisoners. His Ma^{tie} for any thing I heere is as much a prisoner as formerly, yett it is constantly affirmed the 2 Houses endeavor and desire a treaty with him and desire hee would write to require it, but 'tis said hee refuseth except yours, and all interests may bee satisfied if they intend any such thing. 'Tis believed they will speedily bring him to Hampton Court. Besides I am assured they have underhand invited the Citty to peticion them for a personall treaty with his Ma^{tie} but they refuse, because thereby they may offend the Scotts who are theire freinds, and likewise incurre the danger of the votes. The Citty hath also refused to lend them 200000^{l} uppon the security of Cole-pitts in the Bishopricke of Duresme, and, for anything I can heere or observe, these old freinds of theires are now totall averse from them, and theire proceedings. To conclude, [if your kirk can oppose your intentions, they will be guilty of] perpetuall warre and division [amongst us; whereas if yee appeare this cloud will vanish, and all of us] enjoy the happines of peace w^{ch} is the prayer of

Yo^{r} most faithfull servant
333, 57, 282, 362, 40 [?]

7th of March.

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17. 409 TO THE EARL OF LANARK.

MY LORD,

I feare you forgett you have a servant in these parts or take not mee for one, otherwise I had been made happy with a more frequent receipt of your letters. [Yours to the King I have sent and shall send you an answer] shortly. [I doubt not if designe faile not] he will make [his escape and be with you] before you can hope it, soe well have I order'd the busines, as nothing but [himselfe can lett] it. What[a] service I may doe you for I shall hold a constant correspondence [with him, but as] faithfull with you. Let mee understand by the impose (*sic*) how much I have attained the ambition of being 1648, Mar. $\frac{7}{17}$.

My Lord
Your Lop^{rs}
Acknowledged servant,
409.[b]

March 7,
1647.

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[a] ? Let me know what.

[b] Firebrace.

18. THE MARQUIS OF ORMOND TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON AND THE EARL OF LANARK [decipher].

Saint Jermins, 17th March, 1648.

1648, Mar. $\frac{7}{17}$. Your Lop^{s} haveing perticuler and frequent intelligence from hence I shall only remember you of some thinges were mentioned at our meeting more perticulier to the parte designed for me, and first your Lop. may be pleased by the next safe conveyence to send heather effectuall orders to those commanding the Scots' armie and garrisons in Irland to obay my orders as his Ma^{ties} governor of that Kingdome, that when I have prevailed for those assistances I expect from hence (where of I have good hopes), I be not forced to delaye my goeing over for want of soe necessary ane encouragement: in the next place, you may please imediatly to give order to yo^{r} forces in Irland to give all possible safe aversion[a] to Oen Oneill that if he intend interuption to those that wee heare are well inclyned to returne to there due obedience, he may be forced to looke homewards. I the rather mynd yo^{r} Lop^{s} now of these perticulers, for that I understand the gentleman I imployed to[b] is safely with him, and that these[c] concur so many good signes of his declareing with us in the King's service if I be furnished with what is further necessary; hasten over to you^{r} Lop^{s} most Humble Servant.

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19. JAMES FENNE TO MR. EDWARDS EDGAR.

The 12 of March, 1647.

1648, Mar. $\frac{12}{22}$. Your laste to mee whereof noething was written in scypher maketh me wonder att the forwardeness wee dayelie here the affayres of [Scotland] ar in, because I præsume were the relations true in any parte I should have received some intimation from you to that effect; however yf[a] the intermission of ower letters, any thing to that effect hath happened, I expect the resultes of yt first from your selfe, as beeing individuall in my respect, withoute making these addresses to others. I wrote you one very long letter, and fear that there was to much of my owne perticular in yt; 'tis a faulte I can easilie mende, though againste [the Prince of Wales] take his journy. I humbly beseech you in convenient tyme to thincke of me, unless you believe the subject uncapable of the pretence; [then the passe] desired before maye be necessarye. Att leaste such a recommendation in generall to [the Queene] and [Prince of Wales] of [mee] by the Marquis of A[b][——], or whoe you have or d^{oe} thincke fitte [to sende into France]; it maye be visible to them. I am one will be avoued [in Scotland. The Prince of Wales] dott not remove this 6 weekes nor can sooner possiblye be readye. I received laste weeke to letters from him all written with his owne handes; the tenure of them being I should speedily receive orders whether to repayre unto him. [The Queen's counsayle] ar hugely devided; to of them beeing dealt with from hence and the only to[c] that have power to oppose [Scotland] all they can, and devert the [Prince of Wales] from yt. This I can assure you is truth, though I heare withall 'tis not likelie to prevayle, since the generalitye of English in France second [the Queen's] inclynation to [Scotland.] Newes here is none but that the armye and the Parliament have indemnified one another like the brothers of the Sword in the 'King and noe King,' w^{ch} was don by a publick vote of both houses. The ablest amongste them pretend to desire an accomodation, and that the King maye be restored to some moderate power again. I feare a lapwing cryeth farthest from the nest; else certainely 'tis the true interest of 1648, Mar. $\frac{12}{22}$.

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[a] *Sic,* ? mis-ciphered for "diversion."

[b] ? Inchiquin.

[c] *Sic,* ? "there."

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[a] "By" is probably omitted.

[b] Antrim.

[c] Two.

1648, Mar. $\frac{12}{22}$. both Kingdomes to accomodate this present difference speedilye, and to applye, as you sayed, lenitives rather than corrosives. To conclude in the worlde you have not a fayethfuller
servent then
J. Fen.

By the post cometh I beseech you lett mee heare from you.

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20. ——— to Lord Lanark.

My Lord,

1648, Mar. $\frac{14}{24}$. Sence my last to [your Lordship little of any] moment hath passed here more then the emission of [the Parliament's] answere to [——] papers (the woorke of [Master Nat Feenes]) and the impeachment of the foure Aldermen in the Tower, whom when they could not invite to submitt to their wayes they now will force by their authoritie and power. Their [design] now on foot is to [adjourn the Parliament] that therby they may be the more easily dispose [of their army and] the other advantages. I observe [King's party] and Presbiterian too much to apprehend this [design. No thing can hinder] this, [but your armies march into England.] It is true Commissary Copley in Headsoare[a] hath desired me to acquaint [your Lordships with a bussiness of great] consequence [and it is] this [Henry Martin] (notwithstanding all his severe speeches and writtings [against the Scots' affairs) sente] to [Commisary Copley] intreating him to [use his best endeavours] to reconcile him [to Scotland] and that [he] and [his party] (w^ch^ would appeare for Monarchie) might be [received into that] of [Lords] and that nothing[b] w^ch^ they would not do to [destroy Cromwell and his party] who was the falsest of mankinde; and if [Scotland would] give him [assurance] and countenance [his] actions in [Parliament] he doubted not but he should [defeat Cromwell and his party]; assuring withall [he had four regiments] ready at his [service] and indeed [that party is] at this [time very] mutinous, and expects a faire [opportunity] to decline [Cromwell's commands] (hearing [Fairfax's and Cromwell's] resolution is to [despatch] the chief heads and abaters[a] of that partie) and therfore [Master Copley] finding yt [design] of so great consequence encouraged him to persue [his design], assureing him [that little] interest [he had in Scotland] should be heartily employed for so good a purpose, and he doubted not to give him a good accompt, provideing yt he would be as constant to these second thoughts as he had been to the first. The consideracion of this will not be unworthie of your serious [council] and [to] returne [your opinion what is fit to be done. Colonel Ledger is gone to York] weell advised to [be[b] the Scots party].

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[a] *i.e.* Hadsor.

[b] ? there was nothing.

[Your friends in France] are much astonished yt [they hear nothing] both of [your] declarations [and] actions wch, as I conceave, is the true cause yt yow have so litle assurance of arms and money. Otherwise [?] you need not apprehend anie thing of inconstancie or irresolution in there counsells, but the particulars I leave to [Captain Moyle's letter.]

It is observable that these two last dayes the Cabinet counsall men are much busied and destracted in their wayes, and men of good judgement here conceaves that, if yow have no division amongst yourselves, they are confident this armie can never be brought unanimous to a rendezvous to ingage against that party which will declare for Monarchie, and thogh great art and diligence is employed for the raiseing of money, and much money is alreadie gathered, yet the distempers and discontents of their armie are so manie that they dare not pay the souldyers anie part of the arreares, fearing that they would desert the service. The consideration of these and manie other

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[a] *i.e.* abetters.

[b] ? be of.

8, Mar. $\frac{14}{24}$. accedents hath much encouraged all honest men of the Citie to stand constant to their resolution and nothing can make them weavre but your delayes. This is all I have to represent to you at this tyme being late and I indisposed to write. God prosper all your loyall and religious endeavours.

London, 14th March.

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21. MUNGO MURRAY TO THE EARL OF LANARK.

MY LORD,

8, Mar. $\frac{15}{25}$. [The schipes that] should a ben [in Scotland] sax weekes [ago] is turned in on,[a] which [com to Deipe] sax days [ago] and [Sir Williem Fleminge] is this day to be [despacht with his to] Scotland. Ther [comes letters and reports dayly heir that putes us in greate fears,] bot the Queen and Prince [ar much] cherfaler[b] [sinc Mageer Rutharfourde's [cuminge. The Prince] is altogethir sete [for goinge to Scotlande.] The Irish makes [great profers and wolde have] the [Prince to thar.][c] Mr. [Ashburnham the clarge[d] of Englande] ar joyned with all their pouer to make some reconsiliation [betwixte the Kinge and ermye] and at least if you should enter England with an erme,[e] it is beleved [that will] bringe the Kinge upon thade] of thars[f] and doe all thinges [in hes nem[g]] to deceaue [the peipil.] The French [wiris[h] of us.] God grante by his power you may be the maine instrument of reestablishinge the Kinge and his posterity and recoveringe your cuntrie's honor. It shall be my stude to express myself yor to

faithful and humbel servant.

March the 25, 1648.

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[a] *i.e.* returned in one.

[b] Cheerfuller.

[c] ? to go there.

[d] *i.e.* the clergy.

[e] *i.e.* an army.

[f] ? the head of theirs.

[g] *i.e.* name.

[h] Wearies.

22. Ld. Jermyn? to the Earl of Lanark ? [decipher.]

My Lord,

Give me libertie to add some thing besids what is newes wreten to you by my lord Leiutenants, w^{ch} is that you wilbe pleased to take care and soe give order that the Scotish forces in Ireland, by there corespondence with Oen Oneill, and those of the Irish forces lying next to them give not him or those forces, such assurences of securetie as maye leave them at libertie to drawe there forces towards the southerne countries of Irland, to molest those of the Irish there that are better affected to joyn in the service now designed for the King. Oen Oneill being jelous of the other Irish forces is resolved to drawe his forces towards them, w^{ch} wilbe a great interruption to the service if some course be not in that case taken by the Scots to use a diversione, w^{ch} I presume maye be done with such wariness as it neid not at all indanger the Scotish partie. The bearer S^{r} William Fleming goeth hence soe full of the knowledge of all affaires here, he being also desired by Marq^{s} Ormond to speake perticulerly with you of all concerning your owne 98. 4. and those of 166 Countie, in relation therunto, that I need not at this time be any further troublesome to yow with any other relations then such as he is able and authorised to make onto yo^{r} Lo^{p}. The Queen and Prince of Wales and all that are considerable there[a] have placed ther confidence in yow and the Duck Hamilton, though these want not those here that wo^{ld} doe yow prejudice and laye hould on Marq^{s} representations from some freinds of yours out of Scotland. But upon my lyffe, they have no poure to begett any mistrust of yo^{r} affections: this I imparte only to yo^{r} Lo^{p}. 1648, Mar. $\frac{15}{25}$.

From yo^{r} Lo^{ps} most
faithfull and
humble servant.

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[a] *Sic*, ? here.

23. 143 TO THE EARL OF LANARK.

MY LORD,

r. Your Lop^{ps} of y^{e} 7th of March is come to mee[a]; the enclosed I shall deliver as soone as I can finde him to whome it [is] directed, w^{ch} yet I cannot, but am in hope I shall tyme enough, that he may give your Lop^{p} an accounte of the receipt of it himself. 624 tolde me that I sent you from 571 was for your Lop^{p}. I have fownde means to [have private conference with the Duke of York], whoe is resolved notwithstanding [503 his engagement to Parliament willing. I tolde him he] cowlde [onder[b] not make] any ingagement [in a bussines of] soe publique concernment in [relation both to K. and Kdoms without his fathere's] consent. If [King come in and him which he conceaves will absolve him from his pro]mise, to which you will I hope finde 617 [safly don. Shortly the designe of 622[c] crowning in case there be a necessity [that monarchi[i] call govern]ment [must] continue, is freshly thought upone; this for the present is all I shall trowble your Lop^{p} with, being

My Lorde, Your Lop^{ps}
Moste humble and
most faithfull servant
143.

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24. EARL OF LANARK TO D^{r} A. FRASER.

SIR, Edinburgh, April 12.

r. 12. Upon Munday last I received yours of the 4th of this month. My hopes that this expresse will come sooner to you than the ordinary post keeped mee from writing to you by it last night. 1648, Apr. 12. I finde you have been informed of my sicknesse. One day I confesse it overcame me, but noe more, and I hope you shall sooner hear of my death then that I shall be soe keeped from performing of my dutyes at this time; yet before you hear of either, I despaire not but you will finde that the prophetick Lord whose prudence and asiatique eloquence you soe much admire may be mistaken; for all that hetherto hath been done [in the House of Lords[a] hath been carryed in dispight of] Argyle and will be soe still, if good be done at all, for yesterday[b] it was voted in Parliament that all the articles of the covenant were highly broken in the sight of God, Angells, and men; and many articles of the treaties were violated three demands to the Houses of Parliament wer concluded upon. The first concerning the coven[an]t and religion, the establishing of Presbyteriall Governm[ent], and against toleration: the second that his Ma^{tie} may come to some of his houses in or neere London with honour freedom and safety, where the Parliaments of both Kingdomes may make their applications to him for settling a religious and well grounded peace. The third is that to the end all the members of both Houses who have been faithfull in this cause may with safety returne and attend their charges, the Parliament may sitt and vot in freedome and safety. Both kingdomes without interruption may make their applications to his Ma^{tie}, and the settling of Religion and Peace be not longer hindered or obstructed. The present army under the command of Thomas Lord Fairfax of Cameron may be disbanded. To all these and all the disputes concerning them only Argyle and Cassillis, Wariston and L. of B. were discenting. Balmerino and diverse others of that party were ashamed of their impertinent opposicion and voyced with us. Traquar and Calander

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[a] ? Bamfield.

[b] Under age.

[c] ? The Duke of Gloucester.

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[a] There must be a mistake here. One would expect Parliament to be indicated.

[b] April 11, *Acts of Parl. of Scotl.*, vol. vi. part ii. 23.

18, Apr. 12. were not soe much as present at the debates soe as what is done is carried against the one and without the assistance of the other party. You may possibly think our demands concerning religion impertinent: I doe soe too. Yet certainly they are most necessary at this time and the more unreasonable the better, for then wee are sure to have them denyed and without a pretext of religiou it is impossible to engage this Kingdom. Before these demands be sent which we most resent, the orders is to be passed and sent through the country for [puting] (which is only to be by a messenger who is to have a time limited to him for his returne) [the Kingdome in a pistur[a] of defence] and to be ready to march as they shall be commanded. This wee are to-morrow to resolve upon in Parlt, together with ane answere to eight demands presented to us by the Commissioners of the Kirk, wherein wee have resolved to goe a very extraordinary length to give them satisfacion. [Yet we know it to be] impossible, [and so will be free to] proceed to our dutyes [without them], wherin I confesse we make but a very dull and lazie progresse; yet this last week hath sett us now [soe] agoeing, as nothing but [the Parliament's granting] Lords a treaty [can preventt our enga[g]ment though] it will yet take a long time ere [we can be ready to march with] an [army,] but believe it, that nothing imaginable is left undone by [some of us.]

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25. ——— TO JAMES GIBSON.[b]

Sr Aprill 24.

8, Apr. 24. May 4. I was made believe that your servant who brought me the last favour from you was to returne so suddenlie that I could scarslie give you thanks for it, butt I finde his stay to be now such that I may give you a further trouble, for certainlie all that ever I can say may justli have that title though you are still pleased to bee more civill then to forbid it me. Itt is much rejoycing to your servant that you so perfectlie overcome all difficulties of health as those of bussnesse, for what can suceede happilie ever to us, I am certaine comes from your care. The greatest part of honest persons, beleeve now bussnesse in all placs in a reasonable good condition so doth I am confident 301; for I spoke with one that saw how very merrie too daies since those that have the kindnesse 306 hath to 313 have faith enough to thinck they 195 bee 164, but generally people are afraid of examination 55 was afraid 702 would nott [?] 239 strictly presse a conscience to it, therfore lett it bee forgotten. If you doe nott 258, 552, 37, to 932, 275, 98 this king [?] domes affaire without 285 healpe (heere they make that busenesse nothing) 315 said it would bee but tou daie more troable, butt one of the chiefe men of their parts told 185, 260, 258, 134, 279, 62 his strength 271, 202, 65, 253, 98, 66, 265 against 264 they were so united and resolved there is yett no certaintie abroad of what the Dukes though sometime they said it was gone 80, 284. I shall wish all they may contribute to the 30, 142, 17 of 258, 301 glorie 205, 258, 312, there is some thing this day discovered that much incensess 258, 97 which I know you will have a bettre relation of the from 306. Wee expect every day 86, 193 now that 284, 138[a] done her no good. I shall hope to live to see 284 to understand that affaire, and confirme you much more my beeing 1648, Apr. 24./May 4.

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[a] for "posture."

[b] ? Lanark.

Y^r constant
humble servant.

---

[a] ? hath.

26. THOMAS HOWTON TO ——— ?

SIR,

1648, May $\frac{0}{10}$. We are here about nine score officers and gentlemen of quality mounted and very nere an 100 gents on foote. There are comminge out of the countrey good store of foote (as the gentlemen promise) but most part unarmd. We make use of the townesmen for ordinary guardes, and places confidents of our owne upon all places of consequence, but we rely upon our owne selves, for w^{ch} purpose we for the most part of us are togeather all the night either in the streete or in some place covenient to be in readinesse upon all occasions. We want armes exceedingly, here being divers breaches that will require fire armes. I thanke yow for your infinite favours to me, and to the messenger that brought yow the newes. Be confident whatsoever is in my power shall conduce to your interest. I have herewith sent the cipher desired, and begge your pardon for this plaine exprèssion of myselfe, it beinge your commande shall be obeied by

Your most humble servant
THOMAS HOWTON.

Berwicke,
30 Aprill, 1648.

It is reported the post that brought the pacquett was staied at Belfourd or Morpeth, and sent bakke to Newcastle. If it had comed hether it should have passed. Sir Will. Selby is in this towne come that day we came hither from Sir Arthur Heselrigge, to whome he promised to secure this towne from the cavaliers. M^{r} Maior brought me the commissioners' letter to desire him to be carefull of the towns accordinge to the treaty and to hinder the cavaliers from the surprizall therof. He returned them noe answere, as he afirmes.

27. 282 TO THE EARL OF LANARK.

MY EVER HONORED LORD

1648, May $\frac{9}{19}$.

Although this possibly may miscarry and fall into the hands of Sir Arthur,[a] yett hee shall not find any thing to please him, because the successe of loyall undertakeings are every day more visible, nor shall I repeat what wee heare from our freinds in the north, because they are better knowen there,—but shall assure you that our friends in Wales are still prosperous; that they have taken the Towne and Castle of Cardiffe, the most considerable in those partes; that North Wales hath associated with them and intend speedily to appeare, into w$^{ch.}$ associacion the Marches of Wales and Staffordshire are said to bee included, and the Lord Byron is reported to bee on foote in Lancashire, with a good body of horse, intending to assist the Welsh. It is most certaine that Cromwell was advanced as far as Abingdon ag^{t} these with 5000 horse and foote and a trayne of 9 peeces: some say hee is by this time at Glocester,[b] but the generall rumor is that hee is privately retorned, haveing in a mutiny of his forces about Abingdon killed 2 or 3 of his souldiers, who notwithstanding have seysed on his artillery and amunicion and declared ag^{t} him (wee say for the King.) 'Tis most certaine his forces are mutinous enough: yesterday the general sent againe to have the 2 Regiments drawen from Whitehall and the Mews who have the same spiritt of disobedience and say they will not march. From the West I here that Bristoll is staggering, that Plymouth hath not accepted a garrison, and that Pendennis is not yett delivered; but this is certaine the Cornish are highly discontented, because at this time S^{r} H. Waller is disarmeing and

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[a] *i.e.* Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, Governor of Newcastle.

[b] Cromwell reviewed his forces at Gloucester on May 8.

18, May $\frac{9}{19}$. secureing all those hee cannot bee confident of. Thus much for the matter of war; as for peace the Houses yett cannot find the way to it, yett Marten on Thursday sayed that hitherto hee had been ag^{t} the King, but because they would have one hee was contented, as seeing no possibility to bee governed without one, and therefore hee proposed that, although they had very hardly used both the King and his party, yett that they might joyne to restore them, and not to submitt to the Scotts, who would ruine them all. This part as from him, and nothing was donne upon it. That day the Essex peticion was brought through London by at least 2000 horse and foote, who were, as they passed, received with infinite expressions of joy by the Citty, but theire answere at Westminster was not so acceptable, as you will find in the printed relation, which have so exasperated them as they have forced the E. of Warwick to signe warrants to put them all in a posture of defence ag^{t} this day seavennight: besides the whole county is resolved to pay no more excise, taxes, or free q[uarter]. Theire neighbours of Norff. and Suff. are following theire example. On Friday and Satterday the Houses were busy about raiseing of new forces, and putting the Kingdome into a posture, and yett they voted they would mainteyne the union betweene the 2 Kingdomes and the Covenant, and send againe the proposicions delivered the King at Hampton Court, but did not name the King or any addresse or personall treaty with him. Yesterday I heare they voted that theire Generall shall have authority to levy men and money at his pleasure for the defence of the Kingdome and Parliament, a power they never thought fitt to bee in the King or consistent with the safety of the people. To conclude they heere make a shew of complyance wth yee, but feare nothing more then a treaty with the King (& w^{ch} is your second proposicion) and intend nothing lesse. Therefore the [more active yee are espetially with an army, the more yee will shew your] affection [to his Ma^{tie} and his cause and if] a treaty ensue [make yours and his conditions] the better. If the present distractions should hinder future entercourse, yett I desire still to bee esteemed 1648, May $\frac{9}{19}$.

Your most faithfull and
obliged servant
282.

9 May 1648.

It were only the Lords that yesterday voted the Generall the power, but not concurred to by the Comons, and this day the Comons have voted the Citty to have theire Militia and to place the L^{t} of the Tower.

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28. Mungo Murray to the Earl of Lanark.

My Lord, Paris, the 30 of May.

I have litell to say to your Lo. bot what I have wreten in my formar and partecularly in my last 3 befor the [last weeks newes. Wee] wer exalted [but, upon that blow the Welch got, we were humbled a litel; at this day's news upp againe]. The Prince is unexpresably disirous of himself and unpascient to [be amonges you]; for the Queen and hee ar heir [soliciting for moneys;] for what was [asaynd to the Queen] the French has [disposed]. The lousinge of Cutrie[a] is a great hindrance, and the discontentes of the peipell increases. I [belive S^{r} William Fleminge] his [dispach will not be so soon as you expect] for we are heir of a slow mosion. Late nothinge retarde yow from that greate and nobell worke in preserveinge and delayveringe your king and your nation and famalay. [Let nothing hinder Lord Duke from] beinge [Generall], altho ther be sume [rubes] cast in heir from whence[sover.] It is thought 1648, May $\frac{20}{30}$.

---

[a] Courtrai.

8, May $^{2}_{3}8$ that this sursesion in Irlande will contribeut mouch to the good woorke in hande. The [Leiutenant of Ierland grows impasient at ther delayes and so at] the Welch. I shall thinke myself hape in resevinge your Lo. commandes for I am sincerlay

Your Lo. faithfull
and humbel servant.

Lat this present my most humbal service to my Lo. Tresorour by S^r William Fleminge. I will wret to his Lo.

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29. ——— TO ———.

Sir,

8, May 27./June 6. Upon the returne of 193, and that I feare all 154 misfortunes 157, 3, 3, were concluded to bee alltogether 81, 302 action 306 was so much concerned that 155 resolved to begg the favour of knowing some thing in that affaire, for it is impossible 306 can beleeve 284, 244, 98, 66, 265, 239, 267 handsomely as 303 would make it appeare 253, 185. I confesse it might be likely enough to have it in 284 power to revenge some little pretended injury and that I could consent to, butt to act against that honour 302 hath more then all the world beside 155, 243, 20, creditt, but from 285, 49, 233, 726. I believe it never in their powers to doe 284 any discourtesie if it were 306 cannot think 303 worthy of any friendship if they could but imagine those unworthinesses, it is a great wisdom to trie many more then trust, therefore 155 beseech 302 to put 306 kindness to the touchstone by some sense that 284 may see how greedily 155 should imbrace death to serve 362 in. I am sory this must bee with you before they can bee any certain account given of what wee doe in Kent, the expresse that the [Parliament] had yesterday 118, 261 commissioners 277 286, to declare nothing that I can heare, but of an answeare given you which they much boast of as a perfect

1648, May 27./June 6.

victorie over all that hath bin given in against them. They make very inconsiderable both what you can doe or say, though I believe they will nott have so much ocasion to brag before you leave them. They thinck Lambert enough to destroy you all, therfore the General is hastening with his strength to the Kentish men. They have already maid good to Deepford and taken some troupes of the Parliaments take all horses who[a] they can get of that side presoners. They have force enough butt there is yett no head declard they solicitt much 310. Gentlemen are fearfull of engaging before that appeare. The Cittie hath made a new promises of fidelitie to [the Parliament]; butt their [Mayor] tolde the House that hee could nott finde there would tow men goe out of a ward, therfore they were best to keep those in towne of the armie that they had ordered to remove. They sent out five hundred horse last night, butt they deard goe no further then Southwarke. It is thought whatsoever the masters consent to, the apprentices will bee in a body on Tuesday, the day for Kent, almost twenty thousand. It is beleeved by many that part of 284, 151, 77, some 253, 261, allready. Certainly there can be no such opertunitie as 259 if 312, 82 ready; for 258, 254, 146, 1324, 50, will bee drawne most 259, 272. There may be little appearances of our doeing good amongst ourselfes; but 186 hopes 72, 157, 258, 312, therfor lett them nott deceive any that beleeves well of them. You will have by many I doubt nott the story of the Prince of Kent.[b] It hath discovered a great affection of the people; for the Lo. Thanett that was the first man desired to command in that countrey and brought up the relation of the affaires there, hee professed the multitudes were so great to see the thinge that called himselfe Prince of Wales, that the House was in a possibilitie of beeing pulled downe by crouding. Hee hath gotten many presents of gold and rich clothes, if hee can now make an escape with them. I have some ocasion to keep me a little in towne, though I cannot beleeve

---

[a] ? "They take all horses and who."

[b] An impostor had personated the Prince of Wales.

May 27./June 6. my selfe very secure hear. 316 hath left the towne with all his familie and ventured towards your quarter. There is only to encourage me 303 and 313 whose feares are great enough; butt they are in phisick and cannot yett goe out of towne, or otherwise they would daylie pray the Almightie to preserve 302 that 155 may live.

Your constant
humble servant
320.

May 27.

---

30. 450 TO ? THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

MI LORD

May 27./June 6. Be mine to Lanerick and to Lau[a][derdale] you will perceave the accompt of that hath passed since Sir Will Fleamings and Will Murray's arrivall is remitted to the next occasion. I am too full of the sense I have of the honour you have donne mee to use y^t method, and I will keep the same as long as I live, not to let any one occasion escape mee that may shew you with how much care I will bring on my part all that shall invite you to continue it. I think it not irregular to publick considerations that you should know you may dispose of mee with all authority, nor nothing more agreeable to truth and justice then that you should bee confident of it, [and so had as much contentment in the vowd] assurances they [receaved of your affections as you can have] in the demonstrations; [and will be no lesse careful in their] acknowledgments then you have been to [oblidge them]. There will be occasion now of saying much to you daily, but I will not expect from you you should take the trouble of writing, you love it not. My lo. Lanerick will ease you therein. I have advised with Doctor Baylye, and shall referre you to him for my behaveoir in that busines. I will now adde noe more but intreat yow to beleive y^t I am with unfeined zeal and truth most perfectly 1648, May 27./June 6.

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[a] *i.e.* Lauderdale.

98, 412, 94, 236, 29, 18, 116, 62,
47, 290 most obedient faithfull
servant 28, 450.

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31. MUNGO MURRAY TO THE EARL OF LANARK.

MY LO. Julay the 6, 1648.

My intensions was to a cum'd[a] in this shipe my self [a purpos to a seine you, bot Hay croste in it —— [?] as in moste things I intend.] The Prince gos from this on Thursday next the 9 of this month. The first night he was with the Prince of Counte[b] the Prince of Conde's brother who hes invayted him, for his hous lays on the way to Calles. [My Lord German sal go to Cales with him and to Holand] and I am confident he wil —— [?] deliver him into our hands. It is mouch fearde by sum heir that the Prince wil say [?] Lo. Gerr.[c] tales[d] then he intendes. The shipes and all the Kinges counsall that ar in France ar to meete the Prince at Cales. Prince Rupert gos with him, and is to continew Generall as befor. I have harde nothing from Sir William Fleminge since he went from hence, but I am tould heir that they belive he is in Scotland before this. [My Lord Newcastle is disconted[e] heir —— ?[f] can nether get mone nor comision. It's belived he is to greate a freind to the Scotes,— and I have more then reson to belive [that Sir Mermdeuke Langedel wil —— [?] hand the design. I have reseved bot on letter from your Lo^p since S^{ir} William Flemminges cumming heir. Ther hes not on weeke escapte me that I have not wreten to you Lo: this in heart which I shall ever be so to expres my self your Lo. fathfull and humbell servant. 1648, June 26./July 6.

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[a] Have come.
[b] Conti.
[c] ? Gerard.
[d] Tell him more tales.
[e] Discontented.
[f] The cipher reads t s d.

INDEX.

A

Argyle, Marquis of, the Queen hopes to win, 9; prospects of winning, 17
Ashburnham, John, negotiates with the King, 4; continues in England, 14; tries to reconcile the King and the army, 26

B

Berkeley, Sir John, movements of, 1; goes to France, 10
Berwick, Scottish garrison in, 32

C

Charles I. said to be merry, 11
Charles, Prince of Wales, movements of, 1, 2; places confidence in Hamilton, 24; starts for Calais, 39
Copley, Commissary, receives overtures from Marten, 24
Cromwell inveighs against monarchy, 9; rumours of a mutiny against, 33

D

Declaration justifying the vote of no addresses, 7, 9, 10
Denbigh, Earl of, reported intention to visit France, 11
Digby, Lord, letter of, 2
Dishington, alleged knavery of, 10

F

Fairfax, Sir T., dines in the City, 3
Fiennes, Nathaniel, the author of an answer to the Scots, 24
Fleming, Sir W., to be sent to Scotland, 1; sent again to Scotland, 26, 27; delay in sending, 35; sets out, 39
Fraser, Dr. A., letter of, 9

G

Gerard, Lord, in favour with the Prince, 16

H

Hamilton, Duke of, 1, 22, 38

Harrison, dissatisfaction of, 8
Henrietta Maria, movements of, 1; is irresolute about trusting her son to the Scots, 4; divisions in the Council of, 23; confidence in Hamilton 27

I

Ireland, news from, 14, 19; the Prince of Wales invited to, 26; proceedings of O'Neill in, 27
Ireton, dissatisfaction of, 8

J

Jenkins, Judge, brought to the Commons' bar, 14
Jermyn, Lord, letter of, 27

M

Manchester, Earl of, dissents from an answer to the Scots, 19
Marten, Henry, offers to support the Scots, 24; wishes to restore the King, 34
Maynard, Sir John, anecdote of, 8
Montrose, Marquis of, to be included in an agreement with the Scots, 5
Murray, Mungo, letters of, 1, 26, 35, 39

N

Northumberland, Earl of, rumoured intention to leave England, 10; help not to be expected from, 18

O

O'Neill, Owen, jealous of the other Irish forces, 27
Ormond, Marquis of, sails for France, 1, 10; rumoured journey to Ireland of, 12; arrives in France, 13; his letter to Hamilton, 22

S

Scotland, proceedings in the Parliament of, 29

V

Vane, Sir H., dissatisfaction of, 8

MEMOIRS

OF

NATHANIEL, LORD CREWE.

EDITED BY

REV. ANDREW CLARK.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XCIII.

PREFACE.

THESE Memoirs are published from a quarto MS. which was bought by Lord Crewe's Trustees in the summer of 1891 for the library at Bamborough Castle.

The author of 'An examination of the Life and Character of N.C. . . . wherein the writings of his several biographers . . . are critically reviewed and compared with a manuscript never before published containing curious anecdotes of that Prelate,' published at London in 1790 (119 pages, 8vo), had access to a MS. closely resembling this but apparently not identical with it. With that exception, the matter now published appears to be as yet unprinted.

The Memoirs add very little to the facts of Lord Crewe's life as set forth in ordinary biographical works; but they have the interest of being written from the point of view of an admirer, and are therefore in strong contrast to other biographies, which are uniformly depreciatory in tone. At the same time, the conception of a bishop's duties, by reference to which the writer praises his patron, is so widely different from our own, that it furnishes a pleasing example of unconscious but bitter satire.

I have to thank Lord Crewe's Trustees for permission to transcribe the MS., and their Librarian, the Rev. H. F. Long, for his kind offices in the matter.

The Memoirs proper occupy 39 folios of the MS., written on one side only of the leaf. The hand is a neat copy-book hand of the eighteenth century, and there are several bad mistakes which show that the scribe had difficulty in reading the original and was without the meagre knowledge of history and geography which would have helped him through. From this I infer that he was an illiterate writing-master, employed to transcribe from the author's MS. because he wrote a good hand.

A former owner of the MS. has written a few notes in the Memoirs proper, and has added at the beginning and end a great many excerpts from Dugdale's *Baronage*, Guillim's *Heraldry*, Browne Willis, etc., about the Crewe family and their monuments in the chapel at Steane. I have called this writer "the second hand," but have omitted those of his notes which have no direct bearing on the actual text of the Memoirs.

The second hand has prefixed this title:—

"The Life of the R^{t} Hon^{ble} Nathaniel, Lord Crew, Bishop of Durham, compiled from the Minutes of the Rev^{d} D^{r} John Smith,[a] Prebendary of Durham; with some curious Memoirs communicated to him by his Lordship to whom he was sometime Chaplain;

"With an accou[n]t of the Monuments of this Family in their Burial place at Steane chapel;

"And a copy [b] of Dr. Grey's Deposition [c] concerning y^{e} Distribution of Bishop Crew's Benefaction to the University of Oxford.

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[a] John Smith was installed in the 7th stall at Durham, 26 Sept., 1695, and held it till his death, on 30 July, 1715. He graduated D.D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1696, and was buried in the chapel there.

[b] This copy is written on a folio sheet inserted in the MS., by a different hand.

[c] The deposition of Richard Grey is printed at the end of the 1888 edition of *The Laudian Code of Statutes*.

"N.B., a copy of this MSS.[a] is in Lincoln College Library."

As Dr. Smith died in 1715, the compiler must have added from other sources the account of the closing years of Crewe's life. This last part of the narrative is meagre in the extreme. I have therefore appended some additional matter for the years 1717 to 1722 from contemporary papers among the Rawlinson (Thomas Hearne's) and Ballard (Arthur Charlett's) MSS. in the Bodleian.

ANDREW CLARK.

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[a] This can refer only to the deposition, which is found in a college MS. called *Exemplificatio Chartarum*, written by William Vesey, Fellow 1703-1755. No copy of John Smith's MS. *Life of Lord Crewe* is known to exist in Lincoln College.

MEMOIRS

OF

NATHANIEL, LORD CREWE.

Sr Thomas Crew, Knight, King's Serjeant at Law, & Son[a] to Sr Randolph Crew of ye antient Family of ye Crews of Crew in Cheshire, dy'd in London, Jan. 31st in ye Year 1633. He was Speaker of ye House of Commons in ye last Parliamt of King James I. & also in ye first of Charles I., & one of ye Lords Justices of Ireland before ye war. He marry'd a Daughter of Reginald Bray, Esqr., of Steene who was a Coheiress.

His eldest Son John Crew, Esqr., was Member of Parliamt for ye County of Northampton. Petitions for ye Redress of Greivances were sent up to him from ye County. The King and Counsel insisted upon his laying those Petitions before ym, but he declin'd doing it, for fear of being thought unfaithful to his Trust. He was committed to ye Tower for this Refusal, & went in at ye Iron-gate, thro' which none but Traytors were us'd to Pass. His Estate was about 4000£ a Year. He was in ye Country during part of Lord Strafford's Tryal, & therefore when he came to Town, he declin'd voting agt yt Lord. Whereupon Letters were sent into ye Country wth these expressions, "Crew is a Straffordian," "Crew is a Papist." At Uxbridge he was one of ye Commissionrs for ye Parliamt. The king walk'd wth him in ye Garden at Xt Church in [Ox]ford[b] & discoursed particularly concerning Episcopacy wth him; & Mr. Crew said, yt as far as he could Judge, ye king understood ye Controversy as well as any of his Chaplains. At this Treaty ye king said of him, "Crew, tho' he be agt me, is an honest Man."[a] In 1646, he was one of ye Parliamt Commissionrs who recd ye king from ye Scots at Newcastle, & carry'd him to Holdenby in Northamptonsh. June ye 4th 1647, ye king & all ye Commissionrs were seiz'd by Cornet Fryce,[b] & carry'd away from Holdenby. In September 1648, he was sent a Commissioner from ye Parliamt to ye king in ye Isle of Wight, & in ye same Year, December ye 5th, he voted ye kings Concessions a Sufficient ground for a Treaty. The Day following, he & many others were excluded ye House by ye Army, & confin'd in Lodgings in ye Strand. He & all ye other secluded Members were restored, Feb. 21st, by Monk in ye Year 1659. And in order to ye accomplishing the Restauration, there was a Meeting at Mr. Crew's House in Queen Street, wth General Monk & some of ye most eminent Citizens of London. They had not been there above an Hour, before a Troop of Horse came and beset ye House; upon wch all ye Company was let out ye back way thro' the Stables, & by yt means a Discovery was Prevented.

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[a] The second hand corrects "son" to "younger brother."

[b] Two letters here, and several on corresponding places in folios 2-8, are eaten out by worms.

When ye king was invited Home by ye Parliamt, Mr. Crew's eldest Son was one of ye Six Commissionrs sent over upon yt occasion, & was knighted by his Majesty. His Father contribited much to ye Restauration, & if yt had not Succeeded, had inevitably lost his Estate. In 1660, he was therefore created Baron of Steene, & ye Chancellorsp of ye Exchequer was offer'd to him, wch he refus'd. Three Months after, he was ask'd again if he would take it, & again refus'd to accept of it. He was wont to say, yt if he was to be[gin[c] ye]World again, he wod never be concern'd in Publick affairs. Before he was created a Baron he was first chosen Member of Parliamt for Agmondesham by ye Earl of Bedford's Interest, & afterwds for ye County of Northampton. He was a Man of Perfect

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[a] Fol. 2.

[b] *Sic*, for "Joyce."

[c] Letters eaten out by worms.

Manners & good Breeding, of Piety and Learning, & Particularly a Critick in ye Latin[a] Tongue. He dy'd Decr 12th 1649. He had 7 Sons & 2 Daūrs by his Lady Jemima who was Daūr to Edw. Walgrave Esqr of Lanford in ye County of Essex. Nathaniel was ye 5th Son & born Janry 31, 1633. He had so delicate an Ear,[b] yt, when he was in his Nurse's Arms, upon hearing Discord in Musick, he said, "ye Musick cries." In 1642, he was sent to London & plac'd under ye care of one Mr. Bishop,[c] who had been a Westminstr Scholar, & Student of Xt ch. He quickly made so great a Proficiency in ye Latin Tongue, yt he Perfectly understood . . .[d] and acted a part in 2 of his Plays. From this Private Mastr, he was remov'd to ye Publick School at Cheynell in Buckinghamsh., whereof Mr. Azall was Mastr, who bred up many excellent Scholars. He continu'd here, till he was Head of ye School & become a good Mastr of ye Greek & Latin Tongues. The low & sinking State of ye University prevented his going thither immediately from School, & therefore he was assisted in his Studies for some time at Steene, by Mr. Hickman ye yn Lecturer of Brackley. He was also attended by Masters of Musick, & made such Improvemt undr ym at leisure hours, to divert himself from his more Serious Employmt, yt he was able to pform on Several Instrumts at Sight, & in Consort.

In Septr 1652, he was sent to ye University of Oxon, & enterd Commoner of Lincoln College,[e] where his good parts & Diligence recommended him so effectually to ye favour of ye Society, yt he was Chosen fellow of y^{e} College as soon as he was Batchelor of Arts in y^{e} year 1656.[a] In Novemb^{r} y^{e} same Year he was appointed Moderator of y^{e} Disputat^{ns} in Logick & Ethicks,[b] being known to be abundantly Qualifyed, tho' he was so Young, for y^{e} Discharge of y^{t} Office; & yet his great Proficiency in Philosophical Studyes had not interferd wth his Progress in Classical Learning. For he was exceedingly well versd in y^{e} best Roman & Greek Writers. He was wont to repeat an Iliad in Homer every week for his Diversion, & w^{d} often say, y^{t} if . . . .[c] could have puzl'd him in Homer he w^{d} have given him leave to whip him. His Emulation wth his Servitour, who was a Man of Parts & an Indefatigable Student, made him rise at y^{e} Earliest hours & spend y^{e} day in y^{e} Closest Application, being apt to be fir'd wth Emulation, & unable to bear y^{e} thoughts of being out Done. His Father sent him some Books wth an advice to read Multum, & not Multa. D^{r} Watts,[d] y^{n} fellow of y^{e} College, declared to[e] the Fellows upon Mr. Crews being chosen Moderator, y^{t} he did not at all doubt, but he w^{d} be chosen Rector if y^{e} old Rector[f] did but live 7 Years; which happen'd accordingly.

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[a] Fol. 3.

[b] But see Wood's *Life and Times* (edit. Clark, 1891), i. 264.

[c] Henry Bishop, see *Alumni Westmon.*

[d] Blank in MS.; "Terence" is to be supplied.

[e] In the University Matriculation Register, under date 23 May, 1653, we have "Nathanael Crew, armigeri filius" and "Samuel Crew," Nathaniel's brother. The second hand notes here that "Dr. Jn. Barnard was his" (Nathaniel's) "Tutor; vide Dr. Wm. King's *Remains*, page 25." John Barnard, Fellow of Lincoln 1648-1656; D.D. 6 July, 1669.

In 1658, he took y^{e} Degree of M.A., & was appointed by y^{e} Proctor Seniour of y^{e} Act;[g] & there being no Doctor in any Faculty, y^{t} Year, he entertain'd, as y^{e} Statutes directs, y^{e}

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[a] Nathaniel Crew and Samuel Crew took their B.A. on 1 Feb., 1655-6. Nathaniel was elected into a Lincoln diocese fellowship on 9 May, 1656.

[b] The College titles of the offices are the Moderator in Logic, who presided over the disputations of undergraduates, and the Moderator in Philosophy, who presided over the disputations of Bachelors of Arts. N. Crewe held both offices from 6 Nov., 1656, to 5 Nov., 1658. The combination of the two offices was unusual, and perhaps due to domestic dissensions in the College.

[c] Name or word lost, eaten out by the worm.

[d] Gilbert Wats, Fellow of Lincoln, 9 Dec., 1611, D.D. 1 Nov., 1642, died 9 Sept., 1657. He had been Senior Fellow since 1645.

[e] Fol. 4.

[f] Paul Hood, D.D.; elected Rector 20 Nov., 1620; died 2 Aug., 1668, aged 83.

[g] N. Crewe took his M.A. on 29 June, 1658, and in the Act in July that year was "prior opponens" *i.e.* "senior inceptor" (in Arts).

whole University (The Heads of Houses, Doct^{rs}, &c.) at a Vesper Supper in Lincoln College Hall wth equal Generosity & Politeness, & was at y^t time taken Notice of as a Gentlem^n of fine parts & y^e most accomplish'd good Breeding. In y^e same Year, Mr. Thynne,[a] a Gentleman Commoner of X^t Ch., afterw^{ds} L^d Weymouth, being in Private one Night wth Mr. Crew at his Chambers in Lincoln College, Mr. Crew said, "now we are alone, I declare to you, I am for y^e Restauration of King Charles & ye Bps;" & Mr. Thynne used to talk of this oftentimes, after y^e Restauration, to Mr. Crew's Honour & advantage. Some time after, Dean Owen[b] happening to see Mr. Crew pass by, said, "there goes a rotten Cavalier."

Nov^r. 6, 1659, being y^e time of choosing y^e Coll. Officers, Mr. Crew voted himself Bursar,[c] but notwithstanding y^t instance of his Modesty, y^e Society elected him, young as he was, Sub-Rector. Whose Office it is to govern in y^e Rector's Absence, to take care of y^e Exercises of y^e undergraduates, to Moderate in y^e Bachelors' Disputations in Physicks & Metaphysicks, & also in y^e Divinity Disputations[d] amongst y^e Fellows in y^e Chappel. And his Discharge of this Impotent[e] office gave so general a Satisfaction, y^t y^e Society chose him again into y^e same office every Year for 5 Years together. In y^s Year he went to Cambridge, & was admitted ad eundem, & because he had been Seniour of y^e Act at Oxford, y^e University of Cambridge made him one of y^e Caput Senatus.

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[a] Thomas Thynne, created Viscount Weymouth 11 Dec., 1682.

[b] John Owen, (intruded) Dean of Ch. Ch. from 1650-1 to 11 March, 1659-60.

[c] The Bursarship and Subrectorship of Lincoln College were annual offices, elected into every 6 Nov. The procedure was that candidates were named on the evening of 5 Nov., the Rector asking the Fellows "who offers himself for the Bursarship?" or "the Sub-rectorship?" and the election took place the next morning in Chapel. Crewe was Sub-rector from 6 Nov., 1659, to 5 Nov., 1661, and from 6 Nov., 1663, till his election to the Rectorship in 1668.

[d] The Theology disputations took place on each Friday in Term and had to be attended by all members of the College of M.A. standing or over.

[e] *Sic*, in error for "important."

In 1660 he was ye 1st who appear'd at Chappel in his Surplice & hood, before any order relatg to ye Habits & Ceremonies came out. The Rector, Dr Hood, questioned him about it; Mr Crew answ'd, he thought every Body understood his Duty in so plain a case, & therefore there seem'd no Necessity for a Meeting of ye Society to settle it. About yt time, there being an Appeal to ye Visitor,[a] he waited on Dr Sanderson Bp. of Lincoln, & in ye absence of ye Bp's Officers drew up an Appeal himself ye same Evening ye came to Bugden. Whereupon ye Bp. said, "Mr. Crew has excellent parts." The next day ye Bp. Admitted Mr. Crew to his Presence and heard the Appeal read, but[b] being unable by reason of his Weakness to attend to Business, appointed Dr Piene,[c] Dr Bailey and Dr Fell, Heads of Magdalen and St John's College and Xt. Church, his Commissioners to determine it. In 1663 ye choice of a Proctor of ye University belonging to Lincoln College, Mr. Crew was elected Proctor;[d] at which time[e] ye King & all ye Court came to Oxford, & were entertain'd wth a Banquet in ye Publick Library, where Mr Crew made a Speech to ye King. This was ye 1st of his being personally known to his Majesty; and ye Oppurtunity of being made known in these Circumstances was very favourable, for as no Man Understood good Speaking & Address better yn King Charles, So no Man spoke better, and address'd wth greater Advantage yn Mr. Crew. After his Speech ye King wod have conferr'd y^e Honour of Knighthood upon him, but y^t Favour was, at his own desire, & by y^e Heads of y^e University, Prevented, both, because he designed to go into Holy Orders,[a] & also, of its being unnecessary for him who was y^e Son of a Peer. In the close of his $Proctors^p$ he delivered up y^e black book,[b] w^{th} this remark "Ne vel Unâ maculâ nigriori." And y^e Convocation gave a Publick Testimony[c] of y^r great Satisfaction in his conduct.

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[a] The Bishop of Lincoln is by statute Visitor of Lincoln College. The appeal was made by John Robinson and Henry Foulis, fellows, in behalf of Christopher Pike, M.A., against the admission of William Adams, B.A., Wadh., to the fellowship to which he had been elected on 13 Dec., 1662. The question at issue seems to have been about the particular preference given by the Statutes to natives of the parish of Rotherham, Yorks. The Visitor's Commissioners decided in favour of Adams.

[b] Fol. 5.

[c] *Sic*, in error for "Pierce."

[d] On 29 Apr., 1663.

[e] Sept., 1663; see a narrative of this Royal Visit in Wood's *Life and Times*, i. 490.

In 1664, he was created D^r of Laws;[d] he had this degree & his Bachelor's conferr'd upon him as a favour by Accumulation, for having deferred to take his Bachelor's Degree on Account of his $Proctors^p$, & on condition of his Answering y^e D^{rs} at the Publick Act. S^r Lionel Jenkins was Moderator at y^e Act & y^e Question he disputed upon "An Solius Principis[e] sit Leges interpretari?" D^r Piene[f] President of Magdalen College took great Notice of his Accuracy in Disputing, & having given him his thanks for it, very earnestly desired him to enter into holy Orders. D^r Crew reply'd, he "was Apprehensive of some People's entertaining unjust and groundless Opinions of him on Account of his Education, & he was unwilling to undertake that Office, while there was any Suspicion that he was not thoroughly well affected to ye Service of ye Church." Afterwards when these Jealousies were vanish'd, he went up to London & was ordained at ye New Church in Westminster by ye Bishop of Winchester (Dr Morley) who was also Dean of ye Royal Chappel. He had a faculty from ye ArchBp. for being Ordained Deacon and Priest ye same Day. Dr. Dolben, Dean of Westminster and Clerk of ye Closet, as Arch Deacon presented Dr Crew, & another Person, who was to be Ordained with Him, & told Dr Crew yt he must Examine him. Accordingly he required him to turn this into Latin, "I have examind ym, and find ym qualify'd." Dr Crew immediately answer'd "Satis Exploratos[a] habui, eosque idoneos judico ut in sacros ordines initeautur." The Dean immediately reply'd "O I'll examine you no further." After he was Ordained; Bp. Morley Presented him to the King, Acquainting his Majesty yt he was in Holy Orders. Whereupon ye King said, "I am glad yt Gentlemen takes upon ym ye Service of ye Church, & I promise to take Particular care of you."

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[a] As he was required to do by the statutes governing his fellowship. On 21 Jan., 166½, Crewe had a dispensation from the College to defer taking priest's orders till 12 July, 1663; and on 6 May, 1664, he received a further dispensation to defer taking Holy Orders till Ember Week in the next Lent following.

[b] The *Liber Niger Procuratorum* is a register, in custody of the Senior Proctor, of the graver sentences inflicted by the Proctors.

[c] Probably only by applauding his speech. Wood thought it "a light vaine sillie speech." (*Life and Times*, ii. 10.)

[d] All the Fellows of Lincoln, except the Canonist, were required to graduate in Divinity. Crewe had been elected into the Canonist fellowship on 22 March, 1658-9, and, as there was now no degree in Canon Law, was on 21 Jan. 166½ ordered by the College to graduate in Civil Law, before July, 1663. He took D.C.L. on 2 July, 1664.

[e] Fol. 6

[f] *i.e.* Pierce.

In 1666, upon ye 5th day of Novembr, ye Earl of Manchester, Ld Chamberlain of ye Household, enter'd Dr Crew one of his Majestie's Chaplains in Ordinary; & as he Officiated, ye King took [b] Notice of him, and said "he has an Honest Countenance." This was told Dr Crew by Mr Crofts. In 1667 ye King gave him a Sinecure in Lincolnshire. Upon ye Changes at Court, Ld Clarendon being dimiss'd, ArchBp. Sheldon's Interest, Bp. Morley's, & Dean Dolben's fell wth him. Dr Crofts, Bp. of Hereford, was made Dean of ye Chappel, Dr Blandford Warden of Wadham, Clerk to ye Closet, & Dr Crew, his Deputy. In a little time Bp. Crofts using some Freedom wth ye King, wth regard to his Mistresses, & laying before him ye Inconsistency of some Practices wth ye receiving ye Holy Sacramt, and having a cold answer, immediately desired leave to retire. When Ld

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[a] "Explorates," in MS.

[b] Fol. 7.

Clarendon was sent for to y^e^ King in order to be dismiss'd y^e^ Lady Castlemain seeing him come out of Whitehall without y^e^ Mace & Purse, got into a Balcony over ag^t^ him and clapt her Hands to testify her joy. Whereupon my Lord look'd up and said "O Madam is it you, pray remember y^t^ if you live you will grow old." It was remark'd by Cardinal Mazarin, upon L^d^ Clarendon's Marrying his Daughter to y^e^ Duke of York, y^t^ it was far from beinge Wisdom in so great a Politician to marry a Daughter into the Royal family.

Great Notice was taken at Court of D^r^ Crew's good breeding, & King Charles wou'd often use him with familiarity & freedom of Conversation w^ch^ he well knew how to receive in y^e^ manner y^t^ became him. In 1668 D^r^ Hood Rector of Lincoln College dyes[a] & ye Society Unanimously desired D^r^ Crew in a Letter sent to him at London y^t^ he wou'd please to accept of y^e^ Heads^p^. He did so, and went down to Oxford, his absence being dispens'd with by the King, at the request of y^e^ Lord Chamberlain, who[b] informed y^e^ King of w^t^ ye College had done. He went from London on Monday, & got to Oxford by Tuesday Noon, and being Sub Rector Summon'd a Meeting of y^e^ Fellows & on Thursday morning his Election was unanimously agreed to.[c] He went away y^t^ evening to Henley, & on Fryday Morning appeared at Court & officiated before his Majesty.

In 1668, he was appointed a Lent Preacher. His 1^st^ Sermon was upon these Words "If we say we have no Sin we deceive ourselves, &c." The King stood up, all y^e^ while; & y^e^ Sermon was highly Applauded. The Duke of York wish'd his father had heard him; w^{ch} wish was chiefly owing to his having used this Expression in his Prayer "Remember not L^{d} our Offences nor the Offences of our Forefathers."

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[a] Paul Hood died 2 Aug., 1668, in the 83rd year of his age and the 48th of his Rectorship.

[b] Fol. 8.

[c] On Tuesday, 11 Aug., the election of Rector was fixed for Wednesday, 12 Aug., and on that day Crewe was unanimously elected, and a letter sent off to the Visitor (William Fuller, bp. of Linc.) requesting his admission. On 8th Sept. he was admitted Rector by the Visitor; and on 17th Sept. after the 2nd lesson at Morning Prayers installed Rector "in the chiefest seat of the quire of All Saints Church" (Oxford).

About this time y^{e} Dean of Windsor D^{r} Reeves was Dangerously ill; & y^{e} King was asked by Prince Rupert, who was to be his Successor; y^{e} King said, D^{r} Crew; but y^{e} Dean recovered.

In 1669 y^{e} Deanery of Chichester became vacant; D^{r} Blandford told y^{e} King of it, & recommended D^{r} Crew to his Majesty; y^{e} King said, "if it was Worth D^{r} Crew's Acceptance, he sh^{d} have it;" D^{r} Blandford reply'd, "it was not so much y^{e} Profitt D^{r} Crew consider'd, as it's being a Mark of his Majestie's favour": y^{e} King said, he sh^{d} have it. In the Patent, leave was given him to hold y^{e} Deanery wth any other P^{r}ferm^{t} in y^{e} same Church.

The Presentorship of y^{e} Church w^{ch} his Predecessor held being in the Gift of y^{e} B^{p}, D^{r} King, he offered it to him w^{ch} he accepted and was collated to it April 28, 1669, & y^{e} day following install'd[a] Dean. After this, he was elected by y^{e} Chapter to be one of y^{r} Body, and thereby entitled to y^{e} Common Dividend. Some time after an Impropriation held by Lease from the Dean and Chapter was to be renewed, & y^{e} fine was set for 1000£. but y^{e} Dean proposed and prevailed, y^{t} 500£ of it sh^{d} be apply'd to y^{e} Augmentation of y^{e} Vicarage, & y^{e} rest Divided amongst y^{e} Chapter.

His Turn falling out upon y^{e} Feast of y^{e} Annuntiation of y^{e} Blessed Virgin, as a Lent Preacher, & he having prepared a Discourse on y^{t} Festival, observed amongst other Things, y^{t} 'some of y^{e} Moderns were so far from doing Honour to y^{e} Virgin Mary, y^{t} they will not so much as allow her y^{e} respect, w^{ch} is due to her Memory': L^{d} Saville & others having

[a] Fol. 9

publickly and Shamefully cast Reproaches upon her. This was thought a very Seasonable Remark at y^t^ time.

He was Desired by the Heads of Houses in Oxford, (Arch B^p^ Sheldon who was then Chancellor[a] declining to Act, & thereupon leaving y^e^ choice of a Vice-Chancellor to y^e^ University) to accept of y^t^ office, but he excused himself on Account of his Obligations to attend at Court.

In May 1670 while y^e^ King and Court were at Dover, he beg'd[b] leave of y^e^ King to go over with his Ambassador, who was sent to Complement y^e^ King of France, on his return from viewing his Conquests in Holland. The King of France staid at Calais w^th^ his whole Court a few days,[c] and S^r^ Henry Jones Captain of y^e^ Band of Pensioners, shew'd y^e^ Doctor every thing that was to be seen to y^e^ utmost Advantage. Some time after his return, in discourse w^th^ y^e^ Dutchess of York, he told her he "much admired y^e^ Paintings in y^e^ Chappel of Calais, & thought they were indeed very fine, if they were put to a good use"—her Answer was, "put to a good use!" w^ch^ shewd her early Inclinations to Popery. April 1671 he was elected, & on y^e^ 16^th^ of June confirm'd, B^p^ of Oxon; July y^e^ 2^d^ he was consecrated & gave so noble an Entertainm^t^ y^t^ y^e^ ArchB^p^ said it was the finest he ever saw. The Duke of Buckingham had endeavoured to get y^e^ Bishoprick of Worcester for D^r^ Wilkins: but he faild in y^t^ Point, y^e^ Duke of Ormond having obtained y^t^ See for y^e^ Bp. of Oxon D^r^. Blandford: by which means way was made for advancing D^r^. Crew to Oxford. And Henshaw Bp of Sarum was used to say it was Crewe's Interest, yt push'd Blandford up to Worcester. At the Arch Bp's request ye Rectory of Witney in Oxford-Shire, worth abt 600£ a Year, was given him by ye King, to be held in Commendam wth his Bprick, & he was collated to it before his Consecration. Bp Cozens told him yn, if he were but old enough, he beleiv'd he wd be his Successor at Durham.

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[a] "Vice Chancellor" in MS. in error. Archbishop Sheldon was elected Chancellor of Oxford University 20 Dec., 1667, and nominally held it till his resignation on 31 July 1669. But he was never formally installed, and the powers of the Chancellor were exercised informally either by the Heads of Houses or by Convocation.

[b] "bag'd" in MS.

[c] Fol. 10.

He held ye Bprick of Oxon & ye Rectory of Lincoln College together[a] for one Year, wch, Dr Fell told him, was improper,[b] but ye Bp had a good reason to Offer for it, Vizt, That[c] the College Statutes Permitted ye Headshp to be held cum quocunque Beneficio Ecclesiastico, & yt having no house belonging to ye See to live in, he could no where more properly reside wth regard to ye care of his Diocese yn in ye very Centre of it.

October 18, 1672 he resigned ye Headship of Lincoln College; he had been some days there, & had entertained ye Society in ye Handsomest and most generous manner yt was possible. Upon his going away, ye Society attended him to his Coach, & as soon as he was gone out of ye College Gates he gave them his Resignation, thinking it Proper to continue Governour of ye College as long as he was in it.

In 1672 The Duke of York having been absent from Church on Good Fryday, Easter Eve & Easter day, upon ye Tuesday after, ye Bp. step'd out of ye King's Court, in his Lawn Sleeves, to the Duke's Apartment, & desired to speak with him. He was admitted, and said, he was Sorry to observe yt his Royal Highness had been so long absent from Chappel. The Duke answer'd; he could not Dissemble wth God and Man any longer, & yt he wod come no more. The Bp. of Oxon said, Whosoever advised his Royal Highness to this, was none of his Friend; The Duke replyd "My Lord, I take nothing ill yt you say."

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[a] "Togather," in MS.

[b] Dr. Fell afterwards withdrew his censure on the conjunction of a Headship with a Bishopric and held the Deanery of Ch. Ch. in commendam with the Bishopric of Oxford 1676-1686.

[c] Fol. 11.

The Bp. upon Occasion of Vates's[a] Plot, represented to the King ye great Mischief done ye Nation by the Jesuites; to wch ye King said "ye Truth is, they are an odd Sort of People." From these two Passages we cannot but take Notice of his Watchfullness agt[b] the Influences of ye Papish,[c] or any ye least Deviation in ye King or Duke from ye Establish'd Church & consequently ye Injustice of those who wd reproach his Lordship with having been a favourer of Popery.

In 1672 The Earl of Sandwych, who had marry'd ye Bp's Sister, was blown up and drowned in Sole Bay. Whereupon the Bp having spoke to the King, His Majesty was pleased to say, yt he "he had a great loss of him;" The Bp replyed, "since he is lost, I'me glad it was in yr Majesty's Service."

The Duke of York in 1673 entered into a Treaty of Marriage with the Princess of Modena, & desired ye Bp of Oxon to Marry them. This being known, ye House of Commons immediately voted an Address to ye King agt ye Marriage, & sent it up to the Lords for their Concurrence. While this was debating, ye Duke said, yt if ye Address shd pass both Houses, he wd by no means put ye Bishop upon doing yt Office. But the Lords putting a Negative upon it, ye Duke immediately sent ye Bp to Lambeth, to Arch-Bp Sheldon to know in wt manner he marry'd King Charles and Queen Catherine. The Earl of Shaftesbury said to ye Bp, "I hope, if you marry ye Duke you will be so wise as to take out ye broad Seal," intending not to grant it, & so to hinder ye Bp from having this Honour. The Duke told him, "my Lord, yt you may be Safe in what you do, the King will Empower you under his Signet."

[d]The Bp marry'd ym at Dover, & upon his return to Town,

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[a] *Sic* in MS.

[b] Fol. 12.

[c] Probably a slip for "Papists."

[d] Fol. 13.

y^{e} Duke said in his Drawing room y^{e} next Morning, y^{t} he sh^{d} be ready to do the Bp any kindness, & y^{e} Dutches w^{d} willingly join wth him in it. Upon w^{ch} y^{e} Bishop waiting upon y^{e} Duke, about a Week after told his Royal Highness he was pleased to Encourage him to ask some favour; y^{t} there was but one Thing vacant y^{n} in y^{e} Church, which was so great a Preferm^{t} y^{t} he durst not presume to Mention it. The Duke said, "what is it"; y^{e} Bp answered "y^{e} Bprick of Durham." The Duke said he w^{d} Speak immediately wth y^{e} King, & use all his Interest for him. Great Interest was made for Dean Dolben; Dr. Compton[a] also apply'd very Strenuously to y^{e} Duke of York, & magnify'd y^{e} Loyalty and Sufferings of his Family; & upon y^{e} Article of Family Services, took y^{e} Liberty of railing very much ag^{t} y^{t} of y^{e} Bp of Oxon. The Duke of York told him, that this great Bprick wo^{d} not be given to one who was not already a Bishop, & D^{r} Compton was decently put off with this Answer.

The Duke of York told y^{e} Bp he had a great many Enemies; the Bp reply'd, he "valued y^{m} not, if his Royal Highness w^{d} please to be his Friend"; "My Lord," says y^{e} Duke, "I promise you, I will stick by you." A Man of Quality took occasion to say something to the Bp's Disadvantage in y^{e} Drawing room before the Duke of York; Whereupon y^{e} Duke said, "My Lord of Oxon is my Friend."

[b] The Bp's Youth was objected to the King, who reply'd "y^{t} is a fault which will mend every day." The Bp was taken Notice for speaking well in the House of Lords ag^{t} y^{e} Duke of Buckingham and y^{e} Earls of Shaftsbury & Danby. Bp Reynolds left his Proxy wth him, y^{e} Bp told some of y^{e} Lords y^{t} he had it, & y^{t} how[c] he would make him vote right.

The King delaying still to fill up y^{e} Bprick of Durham, Dr. Crofts Bp of Hereford waited on y^{e} King & ask'd him why his Majesty did not give orders for a Congè d'elire to elect y^{e} Bp of Oxon; y^{e} King answered, "my Lord, he shall be sure of it."

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[a] Henry Compton, Canon of Ch. Ch. since 1669; he succeeded Crewe in the see of Oxford.

[b] Fol. 14.

[c] A slip for "now."

On the 18th of August y^{e} Bp was elected by y^{e} Chapter by vertue of y^{e} Congè d'elire, y^{e} return to his Majesty & y^{e} Archbp of York under y^{e} College Seal, in order to his Translation.

Before y^{e} Bp was chose, Duke Lauderdale[a] said he beleived he sh^{d} "eat a peck of Salt before y^{e} Bprick of Durham wou'd be filled."[b] The Bp was enthrond by Proxy y^{e} 10 of Novemb^{r} 1674.

His Lords^{ps} Entry & Reception upon his 1st going down to Durham was exceeding Pompous & Magnificent. The Bp had two Coaches and Six, Six Gentlemen, 12 led Horses & a great Number of running footmen and Servants on horse-back.

The long Vacancy of y^{e} See prevented all enquiries into[c] Dilapidations, w^{ch} at the Bp's own Death amounted to no more y^{n} 100£. The Bp was created Lord Leiutenant of y^{e} County Palatine & Admiral of Sunderland both w^{ch} high Offices were so commonly Vested in y^{e} Bps of Durham, y^{t} till y^{e} year 1688 they were look'd upon as belonging to y^{e} See. One of y^{e} titles of y^{e} Bishop of Durham is Earl of Sadburgh. He constantly entertains y^{e} Judges of Assize and y^{e} Justices at y^{e} Quarter Sessions; & y^{e} Civil Offices of Chancellor, Attourney General, Sollicitor General, High Sheriff & Undersheriff are in his Disposal.

April 23, 1676, he was Sworn Privy Councellor. The Bp thank'd the Duke of York for it, & kiss'd his hand as soon as they were come out of y^{e} King's Presence. After the Duke of York was disabled from sitting in y^{e} house of Lords, y^{e} Bp spoke to y^{e} King to this Purpose y^{e} Duke being only present in his Red[d] Chamber, "S^{r}, y^{e} great Drift and Design of Your Majestie's Enemies, is to Divide y^{r} Majesty & y^{r} Brother, for who can be supposed to be so entirely y^{r} Majestie's friend as y^{r} own Brother."

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[a] MS. has "Landerdale."

[b] Bp. Cosin died 15 Jan., 1671-2. Wood (*Life and Times*, ii. 241) says "his bishoprick was kept void to please a woman."

[c] Fol. 15.

[d] *Sic*, for "Bed."

In 1676 y^e^ Bp made his first Visitation in his Diocese, w^ch^ was very Solemn and Pompous. He preach'd himself at Newcastle, in S^t^ Nicholls Church, S^r^ William Blackett, Mayor, & all y^e^ Alderman in their Scarlett attending his Lordship. At Alnwick y^e^ Clergy appeared before him, & y^e^ next day he went to [a] Bentrick,[b] where y^e^ Governor, y^e^ Duke of Newcastle's eldest Son, had given Orders, to receive y^e^ Bp, w^th^ y^e^ same Formalities, as they did Himself. The Garrison consisting of 500 Men were drawn up to receive his Lords^p^ who was conducted by y^e^ Mayor to his Lodgings where two Soldiers stood Centinels, & y^e^ Bp gave y^e^ Word to y^e^ Garrison every night. He stayd there 3 or 4 days & confirm'd most of y^e^ Garrison besides a great Number of other Persons. When he went to Church for y^t^ Purpose y^e^ Mayor and some of y^e^ Aldermen who waited on his Lordship to y^e^ Door, desired to be excused from going any farther because they were of Different Principles from y^e^ Church of England.

The next Morning y^e^ Bp went round y^e^ works of y^e^ Garrison & y^e^ Mayor desired him to see the Bridge, w^ch^ stood upon Many Arches. When they came to y^e^ middle of it y^e^ Mayor laid down his white staff & said y^r^ Lords^p^ is now in y^r^ own Country.

In the same Year y^e^ Bp Visited the Dean & Chapter of Durham. The Dean [c] was a Morose Man, & sate down upon his Name being called; y^e^ Bp said to him "M^r^ Dean, y^r^ Posture does not become you." The Dean reply'd, "My Lord, your Predecessors always bid us sit;" y^e^ Bp Answered "when I bid you, do so."

In November 1677 ArchBp Sheldon Dyed; M^r^ Mountague,[d] afterwards Duke, sent to y^e^ Bp, to desire him to stand for y^e^ Archbp̃rick. Bp Compton also was a Candidate for it. These

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[a] Fol. 16.

[b] An error for Berwick.

[c] Dr. John Sudbury, admitted Dean 21 Dec., 1661, died in 1684.

[d] Fol. 17.

2 families were so great and Powerfull & ye Duke of York being unwilling to have our Bp put by for Dr Compton, as ye Duke of Leeds was loath to have Bp Compton set aside by my Lord's Superiour Interest, ye ArchBprick was given to Dean Sancroft,[a] by ye Interest of Lord Bellasyse a Roman Catholick, Lord Falconbridge (a Protestant, who marry'd Cromwell's Daughter), & other Popish Lords, who imagin'd, he never wod hurt ye Popish Interest, tho' he had taken ye Covenant at Cambridge.

The Bp's Father said to him, "Son, I pray'd that you might not be removed." Insomuch yt ye Bp wod sometimes say pleasently, yt he "lost this Preferment by his Father's Prayers." This is ye only attempt he ever failed in during ye whole Course of his life. And considering ye Difficulties he must have been involved in, if he had succeeded, his falling short of this Preferment was not so much to be counted a Disappointment, as a Providential Deliverance.

Soon after,[b] ye ArchBp said to King Charles ye 2d, "Sr ye ArchBprick of York is vacant." It was twice offer'd to him, & ye Bp answerd, "I humbly thank yr Majesty for ye Prefermt I have already, but I dont want yt Grace."

In 1679 ye Duke of Monmouth was sent to command as General agt ye Rebels in Scotland, & ye Bp was dispatch'd from London to raise ye Militia at Durham. He set out from thence on Monday and came to his Castle at Aukland near Durham by Fryday noon; [c]and ye Deputy Leiutenants being Summond, they waited upon him at Dinner; at wch time an Express came to ye Castle wth an Order from ye Council to raise yt part of ye Militia, wch is near Berwick.

After ye Duke of Monmouth had Defeated ye Rebels, in his return he call'd at Durham Castle, where he was Nobly entertained by y^e Bp at Dinner; after w^{ch} he say'd he w^d ride Post to Darlington, w^{ch} was 14 Miles in y^e road towards London. The Bp Proffered to lend him his Coach, w^{ch}, he said, sh^d carry him in as short a time as any Post horse could. W^{ch} he did & went thither in less y^n 2 hours, & observed upon it, y^t he was never Driven so fast in any of y^e King's Coaches. In this time of Absence y^e Bp lost much of his Interest at Court, chiefly by means of y^e Earl of Lauderdale.[a] Secretary Coventry said, he heard y^t y^e Scots were come Even to Durham. This and such Things were given out as Insinuations y^t y^e Bp, as Lord Lieutenant, was not a good Governour.

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[a] William Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, 27 Jan., 1677-8.

[b] Archbishop Sterne died 18 June, 1683, and was succeeded by John Dolben.

[c] Fol. 18.

In November 1679 he entertain'd y^e Duke & Dutchess of York for 2 or 3 days at Durham Castle, as y^e Duke was going Commissioner to Scotland. The Bp received him at y^e Hall steps, & y^e Duke kiss'd him as an high mark of his favour; & gave a Private Intimation that no Paptist sh^d come to him, while he stayd at Durham. The Bp went with his own Coaches, attended by all the Coaches of y^e Country, & a great Number of Horse-Men as far as Pearce bridge w^{ch} was 12 miles from Durham, to Welcome their Royal Highnesses into y^e Country. He also raised a Company of Militia to attend y^m. In y^e Way from Piarce bridge a Bottle of Wine was offered to y^m on y^e Part of one Mr. Smith a [b] Roman Catholick, by the hands of his Brother Narrative Smith. The Duke and Dutchess both drank a Glass, not knowing y^e P^{r}son who presented it to y^m. Afterwards, when they did, y^e Dutchess said, she w^d have thrown y^e Glass in his face, had she known it sooner. The Entertainm^t was remarkably great & Sumptuous, & all y^e Duke's Attendants, who could not be rec^d in y^e Castle, were provided for at my Lord's expence in y^e Town. The Duke took particular Notice of this great Instance of his Respect, and often mentioned it to y^e Bp's Honour.

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[a] MS. has "Landerdale.'

[b] Fol. 19.

Duke Lauderdale[a] also when he went High Commissioner to Scotland, & his Dutchess, were entertain'd by y^{e} Bp at Durham. At Dinner y^{e} Duke said, " my Lord, y^{e} Major part of y^{e} Nobility of Scotland are now at y^{r} Lords^{ps} Table." The Bp had sent two Gentlemen as far as Berwick to invite y^{m}. The Duke said, his Attendance was too Numerous: y^{e} Reply was, "y^{e} greater y^{e} Number, y^{e} more Welcome they will be to my Lord."

In 1679 y^{e} Earl of Danby was impeach'd. ArchBp Sancroft ask'd y^{e} Bp "why he was so great an Enemy to y^{e} Earl of Danby." The Bp reply'd, " because he is an Enemy to y^{e} Duke of York my Principal Friend." Upon y^{e} Question for committing y^{e} Earl, y^{e} Bp went out of y^{e} house, and two other Bps his friends followed him. He was committed. These Votes w^{d} have sav'd him.

About this Time, Oates was at Dinner one day at y^{e} Chaplains' Table, when y^{e} Bp was there as Clerk of y^{e} Closet. "Pray," says y^{e} Bp, "Mr. Oates, who was to have been Bp of Durham if y^{e} Plot had Succeeded;" "My Lord," said he, Such a One, naming y^{e} Man. Tho attempts were made to blacken y^{e} Bp, this Confession of [b] Oates being abundantly attested, no harm could be done to him.

December 12, 1679, y^{e} Bp's Father Dyes, & is Succeeded in his Estate and Honour by his Eldest Son, Thos. L^{d} Crewe.

In 1681, M^{r} John Crewe y^{e} Bp's Brother dies, & leaves to y^{e} Bp y^{e} Manor of Newbold in Leicestershire, worth about 5 or 600 £ a Year, well Wooded and Water'd wth a fine Park & all y^{e} Conveniencies & Ornaments of a good Seat. He said he would "leave it to one y^{t} wou'd make y^{e} Chimney smoak," alluding to y^{e} Bp's Hospitable & generous Spirit.

On Fryday Feb^{ry} 6th 1684 King Charles ii^{d} dyes. The Bp scarce ever stirr'd from him day or Night during his illness; having Lodgings in y^{e} Palace as Clerk of y^{e} Closet. On y^{e}

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[a] MS. has "Landerdale."

[b] Fol. 20.

Sunday before, y^e King Supp'd at y^e Dutchess of Portsmouth's, & eat a Swan's egg w^{ch} lay heavy on his Stomach. The Dutchess w^d have been admitted to Kiss y^e King's hand; but y^e King, as soon as he saw her, said, "pray Madam, don't come near me."

One day at Dinner y^e Bishop waiting as Clerk of y^e Closset upon King Charles, recommended D^r Tully who had been long a Chaplain, & was a very learned Man, to the Deanery of Rippon; y^e King immediately granted y^e Bp's request, & gave orders to Secretary Williamson for y^e Warrant. The first time D^r Tillotson preached before King Charles, y^e Bp desired y^e King to Command y^e Sermon to be Printed, w^{ch} was immediately done, & y^e Bishop ordered to carry y^e Message. D^r South's Promotion to X^t Ch. or Westminster was entirely owing to y^e Bp. Great Minds are forw^d in Advancing Worthy Men, & happy it is for a Prince to [a] have such discerning & faithfull Men about him.

The Bp was very constant & diligent in his Attendance upon y^e King as Clerk of y^e Closset, but happen'd one Morning to be Absent when y^e King went to Chappel. He beg'd Pardon for it & told y^e King he had been Marrying a Couple. The King said, "my Lord, I hope you ask'd forgiveness of y^m, before you did it."

The Bp assisted as Supporter to King James on his R^t hand, at his Coronation, w^{ch} is y^e Antient Privilege of y^e Bps of Durham.

In a Short time, y^e King dismiss'd D^r Compton from being Dean of y^e Chapple, & offer'd y^e Place to y^e Bp of Durham; my Lord beg'd to know, if Bp Compton had offended his Majesty, y^e King reply'd, "my Lord, I am positive, he shall not be there." The Bp said, "since y^r Majesty is resolved upon it, & I cannot have y^e Honour of being so near to y^r Majesty, as I was to y^r Royal Brother in y^e Chapple, I shall be very glad to receive this mark of y^{r} Majesty's favour," & accordingly he was made Dean of y^{e} Chapple. This was rather a Constraint y^{n} a Satisfaction to him.

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[a] Fol. 21.

He was Sworn a Privy Counseller soon after the King's Accession to y^{e} Throne. In y^{e} Year 1685, Lord Cheif Justice Jeffreys went y^{e} Northern Circuit & laid a fine of 5 £ upon M^{r} Badily a Coroner, for not rising up when his Name was call'd, Saying, "you are so Lazy, you can't rise up when you're call'd, but ill[a] make you pay for it." At Dinner time Badily came into y^{e} Room, where y^{e} L^{d} Cheif Justice Dined wth y^{e} Bp. "How now," says the Cheif Justice, "I suppose you are come to Beg off y^{r} Fine;" "No," Says y^{e} Bp, "my Lord, there can be no such thing done; you have [b] laid it, but no body can take it off but my self;" which put y^{e} Cheif Justice much out of Countenance. For Fines and Amercements are always excepted out of y^{e} King's Commission of Assize for Durham, as of right belonging to y^{e} see; & therefore y^{e} Bp wo^{d} not allow L^{d} Cheif Justice Jones to read y^{e} Common Assize Commission there, w^{ch} he w^{d} have done, as in other Places.

In 1686, y^{e} Bp hinderd D^{r} Cartwright's being made a Bp, but he Struck in wth F. Peters, & by his Interest Succeeded.[c] In y^{e} same Year, y^{e} Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs were set up. The Bp was then at Durham. ArchBp Sancroft did not oppose it in Council, but when was spoke to, rose up, as giving a tacit Consent to it. All y^{e} Judges y^{n} P^{r}sent, except one, declar'd, they thought it was legal. The Bp was sent for from Durham by order of Council to appear at y^{e} opening of this Court, w^{ch} he did. The ArchBp being call'd, did not appear in y^{e} Court. A Messenger was sent to give him Notice of their second Meeting, but still he did not come. The Bp, y^{e} next time he saw his Grace, discoursed with him about it, &

[a] *Sic* in MS., for "I'll."

[b] Fol. 22.

[c] Thomas Cartwright, Dean of Ripon, was consecrated Bishop of Chester, 17 Oct., 1686.

particularly, represented his having given a tacit assent to it, by rising up, when he was call'd upon in y^e Privy Council. This gave y^e ArchBp great Uneasiness, but still he did not appear. At Hounslow y^e ArchBp waited on y^e King, who told him of his Consenting to, & approving of it, upon w^ch he reply'd, y^t upon farther Consideration he could not Act, & beg'd his Majesty's Pardon for not appearing; w^ch he never w^d do.

In August 1686 y^e Bishop of London was Suspended. Upon[a] which, y^e Bp of Durham said in Court; "my Lords, I suppose y^r Lords^ps mean only a Suspension ab Officio;" & his Motion was agreed to, Commissioners taking care of y^e see of London were nominated at y^e same time, & they allow'd y^e Bp himself to dispose of all y^e preferm^t in his Gift as they fell.[b]

October 20, 1686, The Bp w^th y^e other Ecclesiastical Commissioners pass'd Sentence of Degradation upon Johnson.[c] It was said, y^t they order'd him to be whip'd, but y^t was false, for it was done by order of y^e Chief Justice of y^e King's Bench. The Bp 2 Years before y^e Revolution orderd 500£ to be paid him in Consideration of his Sufferings, by Yearly Paym^ts of 100£ a Year for 5 Years, if my Lord should so long continue Bp of Durham.

When the Duke of Monmouth was making his attempt in King James's Reign, Suspicions were raised at Court ag^t y^e Bp, upon ye Account of his having shewn so great respect to y^e Duke when he went into Scotland. He was therefore not thought so Proper a Person, to be trusted as L^d Leiutenant, in raising y^e Militia, on y^t Occasion. Whereupon S^r. John Fenwick was ordered to raise y^m, w^ch he did, & kept y^m up 14 Days; & according to y^e Account he had given the King, his Majesty was pleased to tell y^e Bishop, y^t y^e Militia of Durham was y^e most regular & best Disciplin'd of any in y^e Kingdom. This was said to soften my Lord upon S^r John's being put over him.

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[a] Fol. 23.

[b] MS. has "sell."

[c] Samuel Johnson, author of *Julian the Apostate.*

Upon the Revolution, when King William & Queen Mary came in, ArchBp Tillotson desired y^e Queen to give leave to y^e Bp[a] of Durham to Wait upon her & ask her Pardon for what he had done in y^e late Reign. And accordingly y^e next day he Waited upon her Majesty, being introduced by y^e Arch-Bishop, and upon his asking her Pardon she was pleased Graciously to Answer, y^t she did forgive him. The Bp desired y^e ArchBp also to introduce him to kiss y^e King's hand. His Majesty demurr'd upon it; y^e ArchBp said, "S^r, y^e Queen has forgiven him, & besides, S^r 'tis now near X^{t}mas, which is a Solemn season of Exercising forgiveness." Whereupon y^e King gave leave, y^t he sh^d be admitted to kiss his Hand.

No Person was Suspended by y^e Bp (as Eachard [b] asserts, but wth great untruth) for not reading y^e Declaration. As for D^r Morton [c] who is mentioned Particularly, this is y^e Truth of y^e Case. D^r Morton did not appear at y^e Bp's Visitation, & said he was excused as an Arch Deacon; & for this he was Suspended, & removed from being y^e Bp's Chaplain. But so great was y^e Bishop's Goodness towards him, in forgiving his Offence, & in Testifying y^e true Spirit of a X^{t}ian, y^t he afterw^{ds} removed him from a lesser Prebend to one of y^{e} best in y^{e} Church, & from a small Parsonage to y^{e} very best in y^{e} Diocese. S^{r} Thomas Haggerson, Bar^{t}, a Considerable Roman Catholick in Northumberland, as he pass'd thro' Durham, enquired, whether y^{e} Bp had taken care to have y^{e} Declaration Read, & was answered, No; he reply'd, "if he does not, care may be taken to have a Bp y^{t} Will."

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[a] Fol. 24.

[b] Laurence Echard, in his *History of England*, vol. iii (publ. 1718) p. 876.

[c] John Morton, fellow of Lincoln College 1665-167$\frac{4}{5}$, B.D. 11 Nov., 1674, D.D. 6 Apr., 1692; Prebendary of 6th stall in Durham, 9 Nov., 1676; removed to 12 stall, 13 July, 1685; Archdeacon of Northumberland, 5 Oct., 1685; Rector of Egglescliffe, co. Durh., 1676; Rector of Sedgefield, co. Durh., 1711. Thomas Hearne has the following note, MS. Collections vol. 143, p. 5: "1734, July 25, Thursday. Mr. Baker (in his letter to me from Cambridge of the 4th inst.) observes that Dr. Bently goes on at Trinity College there as formerly, not wth standing the Bishop of Ely's sentence, but he notes that he would be under some tryal this month when the Bishop should visit his diocese and come to Cambridge, being one of his Clergy. When Mr. Baker was in the Bishop of Durham, Dr. Crew's, family in 1688, he remembers one of his Arch-Deacons was suspended for contempt, only for not appearing at his Visitation, tho' another reason was probably at the bottom. Mr. Baker hop'd there would be no occasion for it here."

The Bp of Durham with three others of y^{e} Ecclesiastical Commissioners were appointed to Visit Magdalen College in Oxford. Whereupon [a] the Bishop went to Windsor & desired his Majesty to excuse him, & accordingly he did not appear. When y^{e} Proceedings at Magdalen College were finished, y^{e} three Commissioners came up to London, & w^{d} have made a report to y^{e} General Board of y^{e} Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but y^{e} Bp of Durham moved y^{t} theirs being a Particular Commission, it did not belong to y^{e} General Board to receive y^{e} Report of it. But this was overuld, and y^{e} Report received, & y^{e} three Commissioners were admitted into y^{e} General Commission.

The Story of y^{e} Bp's meeting y^{e} Pope's Nuntio was entirely false. Tho' so much respect was then shewn to him, y^{t} he Dined wth my Lord Mayor, & Sate above y^{e} foreign Ambassadors.

In 1687 Father Peters was Sworn Privy Counsellor, unexpectedly. The Bp not knowing it, was Surprized when he Saw him at y^{e} Council Table. After this his Lordship declin'd going to Council; whereupon L^{d} Preston wrote to y^{e} Bp, by y^{e} Kings Order, his Majesty having observed, y^{t} he had not appeared at Council for a Month. The Bp waited upon y^{e} King about it, & his Majesty used this Expression to him, "my Lord, you abandon me." The Bp said, y^{t} he could not come to Council while F. Peters was there; y^{e} King reply'd, "y^{n}, my Lord, he shall come there no more;" w^{ch} he did not. At the

[a] Fol. 25.

Council Table, y^e^ King s^d^, "he that is not with me, is against me."

After King James was gone off, y^e^ Bp going to y^e^ Privy[a] Council, there were but Six Present, & fewer cannot make or Sign any order. The Bp joined w^th^ y^m^ in an order for apprehending Father Peters, y^e^ Warrant was accordingly issued out, but y^e^ F. Slip'd away beyond Sea, before it could take effect.

In 1687, y^e^ Queen was with Child. Whispers were spread about in y^e^ Court of her Miscarriage. The King said, "there was a Rumour of y^e^ Queen's Miscarriage, but it was not so," & all was hush'd. At y^e^ Pretender's Birth, June 10, 1688, y^e^ Bp was at Durham, & Did not see him till 3 Months after, & y^n^ seem'd to him to be 8 Months old. The Dutchess of Powis's Observation was, y^t^ it lifted up its Eyes to Heaven.

In 1688 y^e^ High Commission Courts was Dissolved. The Bp's Pardon was Dated October y^e^ 20^th^ in y^e^ same Year. It was su'd out by Judge Dormer, & dated a day or two before y^e^ time y^t^ King William's Exceptions took place. The Bp of Sarum, D^r^ Burnet, mov'd y^e^ Queen, to have the Pardon examined, to see whether it was Valid. Mr. Wortley Sen^r^ produced it at y^e^ Attourney General's Lodgings; S^r^ Francis Pemberton said it was a good one, & of y^e^ same Opinion was y^e^ Attourney General, who was to make y^e^ Report of it.

In 1688, King James ask'd several Bps, according to their[b] Seniority, beginning with y^e^ ArchBp, Whether they were concerned in inviting y^e^ Prince of Orange over; & when he ask'd our Bp y^t^ Question, he said, "Who, I, S^r^, I know nothing in y^e^ World of it; I sh^d^ be a Monster if I sh^d^ do it." The King y^n^ said to y^e^ Bps, "My Lords, you have ruin'd me, & I have ruin'd you." Arch-Bp Sancroft at y^t^ time made such Strong & full Professions of Duty to y^e^ King, y^t^ Perhaps this was one reason afterw^{ds} why he w^{d} not take y^{e} Oaths to King William.

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[a] Fol. 26.

[b] Fol. 27.

The Association was brought up to y^{e} L^{ds} house, being Signed by thousands of People Voluntarily. The Bp being moved to Sign it, said, "when it is Law, I will, but not before."

In the same Year December y^{e} 16 King James return'd to London; y^{e} Bp waited upon him, & kneeling down to kiss his Majesty's hand, he took y^{e} Bp by y^{e} hand & seem'd very glad to see him. The Bp being spoke to concerning the Question for declaring y^{e} Prince of Orange King or Regent, could not remember y^{t} he was in y^{e} house at y^{t} time.

In the Latter end of Feb^{ry} 1688, y^{e} Bp went over to Holland, about y^{e} time y^{t} y^{e} Princess came hither. He heard y^{e} Guns in Essex on his Journey. Before he went, he committed y^{e} care of his Library and Manuscripts & some other Valuable things to D^{r} Eyres [a] one of his [b] Chaplains who was y^{n} in London. The D^{r} plac'd 'em in y^{e} house of his Taylor M^{r} Miller, who soon after broke, & had all his Effects Seiz'd on for Debt, unknown to y^{e} D^{r}. Quickly after y^{e} Bp's return, D^{r} Eyres Dy'd, & by y^{t} means, my L^{ds} Sermons, & a Noble Collection of Books, & other Things of Value, were irretrievably lost. This is one Reason, why y^{e} World is depriv'd of y^{e} Benefit of many Excellent Discourses, from one who was a Lent Preacher at Court 20 Years, wth y^{e} utmost applause.

The Bp's caution was very remarkable, in never admitting any Stranger whatsoever to discourse alone wth him; but in ordering always some of his Servants to stay in y^{e} Room with him; w^{ch} has often defended him from several designs y^{t} were form'd ag^{t} him. Three Gentlemen once came to his Door at Midnight, and ask'd y^{e} Porter where he was; y^{e} Porter assured ym yt he was in Bed, wch was ye Truth, but they Vehemently affirm'd at ye Door, yt he was yn at Mass.

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[a] Samuel Eyre, Fellow of Lincoln 1671-168$\frac{8}{9}$, D.D. 8 July, 1687, Prebendary of Durham, 14 Oct., 1690; died in 1694.

[b] Fol. 28.

When he went into Holland, he took along wth him, as his Companions, Mr James Mountague, his Nephew, Son to ye Earl of Sandwych, a good Master of ye French Tongue, and Mr J. Turner an ingenious pleasant man, who was fellow of King's College in Cambridge. He took [a] also a Servt in Holland, an English Man, who Spoke Dutch. He went over in a New Yatch wch He hired, and had but four Seamen wth him, and was in a Violent Storm for 5 Days. They Steer'd the Vessell into ye Brill, ye Wind being turn'd fair, but the Tide contrary. He was ever particularly delighted wth ye 105th Psalm, which is read ye 22d day of ye Month, ye day of his being in ye Storm.

On Sunday about Noon he got to Rotterdam, where as soon as he had refresh'd himself, he went to church, to bear a part in their Publick Devotions. He staid there three days and yn went to hayden,[b] where he continued three Weeks, & Went to Church every Sunday. He appear'd in a Wig & Sword, & was supposed by ye Dutch to be some great Man in disguise, & Particularly they took him to be ye Earl of Northumberland. He was never in ye french Dominions.

King William and Queen Mary were Crown'd during ye Bp's stay abroad. He was kindly invited to assi[s]t at ye Coronation, & had ye Promise of a Welcome Reception, but excused himself. He return'd to England in July,[c] 1689, but was becalm'd in his Passage, so yt he got to London, but two Days before ye Expiration of ye time appointed for taking the Oaths. The House of

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[a] Fol. 29.

[b] An error for "Leyden."

[c] The second hand notes here :—"Vide Dr Denis Granvill, ye Dean of Durham's, *Letter to Lord Crew, Bishop of Durham*, Dated from Rouen, July 1, 1689, upon ye Revolution wth ye reasons of his abdication and his not complying wth his Lordship's advice, wth other particulars therein recited. The said Letter was published by ye Dean in his Book intituled *Ye Resigned & Resolvd Xtn & Faithfull & undaunted Royalist*, in 4to, very scarce & hard to be met with."

Lords was adjourned for those two days, so, y^e Oaths could not be taken there. The Lord[a] Mayor was desired by S^r Thomas Stampe, Aldermen, to call a guild upon y^e Bp's Account, and he took y^e Oaths at Guild-hall. The News of this was presently carry'd to Court, and rec^d w^th some Surprize. L^d Falconbridge said, he had done Wisely. In a little time, y^e Bp went down into Leicestershire & whilst he was there, y^e Publick Papers, particularly the Gazette, reflected upon him, as being gone over to France, and added other Things, very false & injurious to his honour. Narrative Smith came to him at y^t time, and desired to speak with him in Private, 3 or 4 of my L^ds Gentlemen were in y^e room; y^e Bp desired him to let him know what his Business was, and commanded his Servants to observe what pass'd. Whereupon Smith quickly took leave, & went away in great Disappoinm^t and Confusion.

S^r William Bowes ab^t y^t Time told y^e Bishop he was asked whether there was not some Address intended from Durham, w^ch his Lords^p was concern'd in? & added y^t he sh^d be asked y^e same Question again, and therefore desired y^e Bp to tell him w^t answer he sh^d give to it; y^e Bp reply'd "say all you know." In King William's Act of Oblivion y^e Bp was expected;[b] but this could not do him any great Prejudice, tho' it was a Mark of y^e King's Displeasure. My Lord Spoke upon this Occasion in the House of Lords. His[c] Speech was Applauded by many who heard it, who Offer'd his Lords^p to speak to y^e King for him, to take off y^e Exception. He thank'd 'em, but said he wo^d not desire it. Afterwards he was wont to say to his Private Friends, y^t he wo^d have y^e Exception engraven upon his Tomb Stone. Aubrey, Earl of Oxford, said in y^e Court of Requests "y^e Bp of Durham has Spoke like an Angel." L^d Maulesfield said to y^e Bp himself, "'Twas your Speech y^t sav'd you."

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[a] Fol. 30.

[b] *Sic*, for "excepted."

[c] Fol. 31

Stillingfleet, as Bp Bull reported from him, said, y^{t} "y^{e} Bp's Speech was y^{e} most natural piece of Oratory he ever heard in his Life;" & said also, as Dean Sharp declared, y^{t} it was "y^{e} best Speech he ever heard in y^{t} house." The Speech was this,

"My Lords,

"I am very unfit at any time to speak before y^{r} Lords^{ps}; much more now, upon such an Occasion as this, when so many thousands have y^{e} Benefit of this Act of Pardon, & I am to be one of these few, y^{t} are excepted out of it.

"My Lords, I am very far from envying y^{e} Happiness of those who are thus Pardoned; nay, rather I heartily congratulate y^{m} upon it, for, God forbid, y^{t} when y^{e} King's Eye is good, mine should be Evil. My Lords, I remember when an Act of this Kind was sent down to this House in Treasurer Clifford's time (I y^{n} had the Honour to sit[a] here), in y^{t} Act there was no Exception of Persons; only Crimes were excepted. If y^{e} same forme had been observ'd in this, I humbly conceive there wo^{d} have been more room for Justice; I am sure there would have been less reason for so long a Debate as this.

"My Lords, I am very far from going about to Justifye my own Conduct; nay, rather I am heartily Sorry for it, & beg Pardon of Heaven, Pardon of y^{r} Majesties, Pardon of all y^{r} Lords^{ps}, and more Particularly I ask this Rev^{d} Prelate's pardon" (laying hand upon y^{e} Bp of London's Shoulder) "which I have already done in Private, & am glad I have an Opportunity of doing it again in Publick before all y^{r} Lords^{ps}.

"But one great Satisfaction to me, is, y^{t} I never had a hand in Blood. The truth is, I was hurry'd on wth such a Notion of Obedience, as I will never be Guilty of again, for y^{e} greatest King or Prince in Xtendom. No, my Lords, I resolve for y^{e} future, to Make The Laws,—The Standard of my Actions, according to y^{e} Royal Example.

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[a] Fol. 32.

"A Golden Sentence, This indeed, drop'd down from the Throne above, for I dare be bold to say, 'tis y^{e} first time it was ever delivered from that Throne. My Lords; seeing y^{t}[a] this Pardon is so necessary for Preserving y^{e} Publick Peace of this Nation, & y^{t} you may see how much I am a Well-Wisher to y^{e} good of my own Country, rather y^{n} I sh^{d} give any further delay to y^{e} Passing of it, I w^{d} throw my self up for a Sacrafice, & am willing y^{e} Bill sh^{d} Pass."

Then y^{e} Bp wthdrew, while y^{e} Question was put. It was imagin'd, y^{t} y^{e} Duke of Leeds was y^{e} cheif occasion of his being excepted, on Account of y^{e} Bp's going out of y^{e} House, when y^{e} Question was put for Committing his Grace to y^{e} Tower in 1679. The Bp stood excepted 5 or 6 years, and nothing was alleged ag^{t} him.

In Confutation of w^{t} Bp Burnet says y^{t} y^{e} Parliam^{t} in King James's y^{e} 2$^{d's}$ Reign was made up of Weak, poor inconsiderable Persons, I have heard from very good Hands y^{t} King James Closetted four of y^{e} most considerable Members of it, S^{r} Christoph. Musgrave, my L^{d} Preston, M^{r} Finch, and M^{r} Cholmondley of Vale Royal, and y^{t} they all refused to come into his Measures in taking off y^{e} Test, except my L^{d} Preston, and y^{t} S^{r} Christoph^{r} Musgrave told y^{e} King, his Majesty might Strip him to his Shirt, if he pleased, but y^{t} he w^{d} sell y^{t} Shirt, if he had nothing else, for a Sword to fight for his Majesty.

When y^{e} Bp went down to Durham, a few Weeks after D^{r} Sacheverell's Tryall, y^{e} Bells rung in all y^{e} Towns as his L^{d}ship pass'd, & when he came to y^{e} Elvetmore about a mile[b] from Durham, he was met by 3 or 4,000 People (S^{r} Harry Bellasyse said they were 5,000 Horse), all y^{e} Gentry and Clergy,

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[a] Fol. 33.

[b] Fol. 34.

& other Principal Inhabitants of y^{e} Country, & received wth a Speech by M^{r} Henry Lambton, Attourney General; & y^{e} Trading Companies appear'd on y^{e} Moor wth y^{r} Banners. In a short time after, y^{e} Bp held a Visitation of y^{e} Dean and Chapter & spoke to y^{m} as follows:

"My Brethren of y^{e} Chapter and Clergy, Is this another Triennial, or rather is it not my Primary Visitation? So extraordinary has been my Reception this Year, in this obliging Country, justly call'd y^{e} Bprick. So y^{t} instead of y^{e} 36th Year, this may not be improperly stiled y^{e} first of my Translation. Which is enough to set my Dial back, & to renew my age, tho' drawing near y^{t} of Labour and Sorrow, by filling it wth Joy & Exultation. But I pray, my Brethren, wherefore is all this? Why? what good have I done more than my duty, if so much? y^{t} I sh^{d} Merit this more y^{n} double Honour, altogether unsought by me, & indeed unthought of, 'till after I heard of y^{e} Unanimous & most obliging Resolutions of y^{e} Gentry, Clergy and Multitudes of others to signalize y^{r} Approbations of my poor Endeavours to serve her sacred Majesty, & the Apostolical Church of England. A Church, w^{ch} tho' often struck at in all Ages, yet still keeps its ground, holy ground, as being founded on a Rock, y^{t} is impenetrable & can never be[a] Sap'd or undermin'd by its Adversaries.

"Neither Atheism, Deism, nor Papism on y^{e} one hand, nor y^{e} Corahs, Dathans and Abirams, wth such like Republicans on y^{e} other, can ever be able to touch y^{e} Border of y^{e} Mount, this rock, wthout being Split and dash'd in Peices y^{m} selves. While y^{e} Monarchy wth its just Prerogatives & y^{e} Church wth it's Hiercrety[b] and Wonted Discipline are thus secure from Danger, What Blessings may we not expect from this most excellent Constitution? And more especially under so

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[a] Fol. 35.

[b] *Sic*, for "Hierarchy."

Gracious a Queen, who is y^e Tutelar Angel, & true Defender of our Faith.

"A Queen who by her Exemplary Piety, & unparalleld Virtue, who by her indefatigable pains & her own Particular Inspection, labours to convey these Blessings safely down to y^e latest Posterity, y^t they may enjoy y^e same.

"And now, my Brethren, having thus Introduced myself here amongst you wth this Breviate of Home-Occurrences, this Short Narrative of this Summer's Domestick Campagne, I sh^d proceed to y^t w^{ch} is more properly the Business of y^e day, Expecting your Answers to my several Articles of Enquiry; but your Dean being not yet return'd, tho' Shortly expected, I shall adjourn this Visitation to another day, & because I will not trouble you again wth noise & Procession, I do appoint it to be at my Castle on . . . [a] betwixt y^e Hours of 9 & 12 in y^e Forenoon, & accordingly this Visitation is thus [b] adjourned. In y^e Mean time God's Blessing light on you all."

Bp Ken was once Summond to appear before y^e Privy Council where he told King William there was nothing to be feared from him, nor any Matter y^t could give Offence, to be charg'd upon him, unless it were he was reduced to be a beggar. When he was Withdrawn, D^r Compton, Bp of London, being y^n Present in y^e Council Chamber said, it seemd hard upon Bp Ken to be sent for so far when there was nothing to be alleged ag^t him, & so beg'd leave, y^t he might invite him to take a Lodging at Fulham. King William said, "my Lord, you have encourag'd too many of my Enemies already." When Bp Compton told this to y^e Bp of Durham, he said, "My Lord, it was worth your Pains indeed to do y^t."

The Bp of Durham was to have marry'd Bp Croft's Daughter, and her Portion was to be 3000£, but she Dy'd of y^e Meazles.

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[a] Blank in MS.

[b] Fol. 36.

In 1691, on S^t Tho^s day, y^e Lady Tynt, Widow of S^r Hugh Tynt, was Marry'd to y^e Bp.

The Bp attended S^r John Fenwick's Tryal constantly & Sate up till 3 in y^e morning, on y^e last day of it, & enter'd his Protest in favour of S^r John three times. On this Account, King James who was not pleased wth y^e Bps Compliance at y^e Revolution, said, as my Lord was told, y^t he forgave him[a] every thing. Lord Portland ask'd y^e Bp on this Occasion, why he left y^m, alluding to King William's having pardoned him; my L^d said because he could not Answer it to his Conscience, to do otherwise. The Bp always waited on y^e King & Queen upon his coming to Town, & going to y^e Country.

Nov^r 30: 1697. L^d Tho: Crew y^e Bp's Brother dyes, & y^e Barony and wth it an Estate of 3000£ a Year falls to y^e Bp, his Brother having cutt off y^e Entail of about 3000£ a Year more, w^{ch} belong'd to y^e Family. From this Time he was summon'd to Parliament by two Writs, one by L^d Crew, y^e other as Bp of Durham. He was constantly in his Diocese every Year 'till his Sickness in London in 1715-16 & y^e 82nd Year of his Age. His Visitations till y^t time were Constantly Triennial, & his Confirmations Annual.

A Divorce was su'd for in y^e House of Lords betwixt y^e Earl of Anglesy & his Lady, now Dutchess of Buckingham; The Bp was for y^e Divorce & it was carry'd; upon w^{ch} Bp Burnet said to my Lord, "you Encourage Whores."

In 1713 y^e old Duke of Leeds met wth my Lord at Court, & said to him, "how does y^r L^{d}ship do? I have known you a long time;" "yes," says my Lord, "above 40 Years, you have remember'd me ever since 1679." My Lord attended y^e house very late at Night to y^e Hazard of his Health, when L^d Oxford was sent to y^e Tower, & voted against his Imprisonment.[b]

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[a] Fol. 37.

[b] Fol. 38.

August 1, 1714: Q. Anne Dyes; y^{e} Bp proclaimed K. George of [a] Durham & assisted as y^{e} R^{t} hand Supporter at his Majestie's Coronation. L^{d} Wharton said to y^{e} Princess, y^{e} Bp y^{n} standing by, "Madam, L^{d} Crew is four score;" my L^{d} reply'd, "may it please y^{r} R. H. I am above 80 Years of Age, & L^{d} Wharton remembers me y^{e} greatest part of y^{t} time." The Bp went to wait on K. George, but no Bed-Chamber Man was in y^{e} Way to introduce him; Whereupon he said to some Person Present, "pray tell y^{e} King, I only came to pay my Duty to him, for I have nothing to ask of him;" The King gave orders, y^{t} whenever y^{t} good Man came to see him, he sh^{d} be admitted immediately. When y^{e} Bp of Sarum dy'd, my L^{d} said to y^{e} King; "I have Buried my Successor;" The King reply'd, he hop'd it w^{d} be many Years before he sh^{d} name his Successor.

In Octob^{r} 1715 [b] Lady Crew dy'd & y^{t} Winter my L^{d} fell Sick at London. The next Year he came to Steene, his Seat in y^{e} Country, & resided there by reason of his Infirmity (w^{ch}

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[a] "Of," in error for "at."

[b] The second hand notes here :—"1716 : vide *Hist. Reg^{r}.* p. 70. Lord Crew's 2^{d} Lady was y^{e} Dau^{r} of S^{r} W^{m} Forster of Balmborough Castle in Northumb^{d} who was to have been his first wife, and when his L^{d}ship asked her Ladyship how she came to refuse his first offer, she replyd y^{t} she was 'so many years older, and by consequence so much wiser, and therefore ye fitter for his Lordship.' She resided in her Infancy much at Durham : at w^{ch} time Mr. [Joseph] Smith (afterwards [1730-1756] Provost of Queen's College [Oxford]) going frequently to her Father's (Mr. Foster), they were play Fellows together, & w^{a} in company wth him w^{a} they grew up, she w^{d} take a pleasure in talking of y^{e} little Tricks in their Youth, & being of a lively Temper & disposition w^{d} occasionally be very jocular, and among other things relate his taking her up in his arms and setting her bare upon a cold stone in y^{e} Garden, when she said "by my Faith, you have usd me very scurvily, you took up my Cloaths & set me upon my bar Breach." Thomas Hearne has a note (MS. Collections, vol. 92, p. 91) : "1722, Sept. 26, Tuesday. I am told that the late Bishop of Durham's second lady was sister to Foster that acted treacherously lately at Preston, that she was the prettiest young Woman in England (in so much that she was commonly called *pretty Dolly Foster*) but that she never enjoyed her self after Marriage but pin'd away, the bishop being old."

prevented his Appearance either in y^e Parliament, or at his Diocese) till his Death.

Aug^t 12, 1717 y^e Bp went to Lincoln College.[a] On y^e same day of y^e Month 1668[b] he was chosen Rector. Such respect was shew'd him there by y^e City, as well as University, y^t an[c] order from y^e Court of Chancery being sent at that time, for his Paying 1300£ Costs of Suit betwixt his L^d Ship & S^r Henry Lyddall, there was no Attourney in Oxford, y^t could be prevail'd on to Serve y^e Writ.

The Bp was y^e kindest Master to his Servants, & Landlord to his Tenants, of his time, Scarce any of his Fines or Rents having even been raised by him. His Hospitality and Charity at Steene was remarkable; as also y^e Care he took of his Diocese, in Appointing Commissioners to give Institution, and to Perform all Acts except those which requir'd y^e Presence of a Bishop.

He gradually declin'd for several Weeks; expected his Death with Perfect Satisfaction & ease; was entirely resign'd, compos'd and Serene, & kept his parts and Memory to y^e last Moment of his Life; & expired, while his Soul was Recommended to God in y^t form w^ch y^e Church appoints to be used on such Occasions.

His Will contains an Account of his Benefactions w^ch was to have been here Inserted if these Memoirs had been Printed by [Dr.[a] Smith] as were intended.[b]

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[a] The visit was to intimate to the College that he was going to execute in his lifetime the provisions of his will for the benefit of the College. On 8 Oct., 1717, he nominated his first twelve exhibitioners; and a College order of 21 July, 1718, provides that the directions he had given about the allocation of his benefaction of £474 6*s*. 8*d*. a year to the College (including these exhibitioners), which sum he had already begun to pay, "be engrossed on vellum and placed in the College treasury amongst the rest of our archives as a perpetual monument of our duty and gratitude to his Lordship."

[b] "1678" in MS. in error.

[c] Fol. 39.

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[a] "Dr. Smith" is inserted by the second hand, in error.

[b] At the end of the MS., among other notes by the second hand, is this following: —"Mr. [John] Offley [husband of Anne Crewe] changd his name to Crew as being heir to S^{r} J^{n} Crew. He was Father to Mr. [John] Crew of Crew-hall, who mar^{d} Sarah King who was Chamber Maid at y^{e} Crown Inn at Oxford belonging to S^{r} Sebastian Smith. She was much followd by Lord Brook's son of X^{t} Church & as she was a strong well-made woman she made nothing of throwing y^{t} nobleman's son into y^{e} bason in y^{e} great Quadrangle there: and afterw^{ds} being drove out of Oxford by Mr. [Joseph] Smith, y^{n} [in 1704 Senior] Proctor of y^{e} University, for keeping company wth y^{e} Gownsmen, and particularly wth y^{t} young nobleman & Mr. Crew, she went to London, & Mr. Crew was so fired wth y^{e} beautiful & excellent frame of her Person y^{t} to allay them he went after her to London & was there tempted to marry her altho' he had before two illegitimate sons by her. [John] the eldest of them was obligd to procure an Act of Parliam^{t} for his naturalisation before he c^{d} make a settlement on his marriage wth Miss [Anne] Shuttleworth ye Dau^{r} of Mr. [Richard] Shuttleworth, member for Lancash^{r}: otherwise Dr. Joseph Crew who was the 3d, and only son born in wedlock w^{d} have been y^{e} lawfull Heir. He took his name from Dr. Joseph Smith, as he was undesignedly y^{e} Instrument of his Father's mar^{ge}. This rash act of Mr. Crew's mar^{ge} to her did at first give great disgust to the Family; but, contrary to expectation, she behaved so extremely prudent & was so courteous and obliging to her Husb$^{d's}$ Friends y^{t} she soon gaind their esteem & by her good management & Frugality she not only paid of[f] a considerable debt y^{t} was owing on y^{e} Estates but savd Ten Thousand p^{ds} a peice for her younger children. Dr. Joseph Crew was ye 3^{d}, & only son born in wedlock: this gentleman, who is preferred to y^{e} considerable living of Crew hall, mar^{d} a Dau^{r} of Mr. Haywood of Oxford."

APPENDIX

TO THE MEMOIRS OF LORD CREWE.

The very imperfect account of Lord Crewe's declining years given in the MS. may be supplemented from contemporary diaries and letters.

1717: Lord Crewe's visit to Oxford. This attracted much attention at the time, and is noticed at some length in Thomas Hearne's Diary.

Hearne MS. Collections, vol. 64, p. 93:—"Aug. 16, Ffriday, 1717. Dr. Crew, Bishop of Durham, is now in Oxford.[a] He is fourscore and eight months old." *Ibid.*, p. 109:—"1717, Aug. 26th, Monday. The Bishop of Durham, Dr. Crew (who continues still in Oxford) hath given (as I hear) an hundred Pounds to the new Building (which is designed for a Library) carrying now on on the south side of Peckwater Quadrangle at X^{t} Church, an hundred Pounds to the carrying on of Queen's College, an hundred libs. for an Altar Piece at the new church of All-Hallows, two hundred libs. towards the spire of the said Church of All-Hallows, and withall hath augmented the Rectorship of Lincoln College twenty libs. per an., and the fellowships of the same college ten libs. per an., which Augmentations are to begin at Michaelmas next. He hath likewise given Exhibitions to the same College. So that this Bishop may be looked upon as a good Benefactor to the University of Oxon." *Ibid.*, p. 111:—"1717, Aug. 29, Thursday. On Tuesday last (Aug. 27) at two clock in the Afternoon was a Consort of Musick in the Theatre for the Bishop of Durham, who was there. This was Dr. Charlett's contrivance and is laugh'd at. For indeed it was not at all proper to entertain him with Musick, unless there had been also a Speech, which would have been decent enough, and it should have been spoken by one of the ffellows of Lincoln College, to which College he hath been so great a Benefactor, as I have observed above. I am told the Exhibitions he hath given are about 12, and all 20 libs. per an. But I am not yet certain. He hath likewise augmented the Income of four Churches (ten Pounds each) belonging to that College, viz. All Hallowes, Oxon., St. Michael's, Oxon., Comb by Woodstock, and" [Twyford in Bucks]. *Ibid.*, p. 114:—"1717, Aug. 31, Saturday. The Bishop of Durham went out of Town on Friday Morning last. I do not find that it holds true that he hath given an Hundred libs. to Queen's College.[a] Dr. Lupton[b] is his Chaplain, and he was with him. Old Mr. Giffard tells me that he was formerly well acquainted with the Bishop. Mr. Giffard offered to make a visit to his Lordship, and the

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[a] A dinner was given to Lord Crewe in Lincoln College Hall on the occasion of this visit. The dinner cost £6 15*s*. 6*d*.; new table-linen was provided for the High Table, costing "for linen and making cloths and napkins, £2 4*s*. 0*d*." The Accounts mention also "for wine in hall at entertainment to the Bp. of Durham our Benefactor, £3 15*s*. 0*d*.: to the University musick at the same time, £1 1*s*. 6*d*."

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[a] The second hand in John Smith's MS. has this note:—"Copy of the Register of Bp. Crew's benefaction to Queen's College as it is entered among the rest of the benefactors of that College:—Capellae Omnium Sanctorum in Coll^{o} Reg^{is} Benefactores—Nath^{iel}, Baro Crew, Ep^{us} Dun^{sis}. Ut aedes deo opt^{o} max^{o} dicatae pulchrius enitescerent, utque in atrio tam eleganti quam sancto Reginenses Dom^{m} adorarent, suam esse voluit curam suae aetatis praesul omnium munificentissimus, N^{ael}, permiss. Div. Dun^{sis} ep^{us}, et Baro Crewe de Steane, qui ut opus adeo pium promoveret ex innata animi benignitate centum libras lubentissime donavit. Idem, ne in caeteris aedificiis erigendis deficeret societas, anno insequente centum aureos largitus est."

[b] William Lupton was adm. Fellow of Lincoln 22 Dec. 1698, and died 13 Dec. 1726. He had been promoted by Crewe to the 9th stall at Durham, 13 Sept. 1715. A note by the second hand in John Smith's MS. says:—"Dr. Lupton was recommended to his Lordship for his chaplain by Dr. John Smith, prebendary of Durham, who had a particular interest in the Bishop."

Matter was made known to Dr. Lupton, tho' Mr. Giffard desired that his Ldship might know that he was a Non-Juror. Dr. Lupton when he heard this said that the Bishop did not 'care to have a visit from any stranger.' So Mr. Giffard did not go. He afterwards was informed that he did not care to see Non-Jurors." *Ibid.*, p. 115:—"I find that the Bishop of Durham is older than I said he was. He is fourscore and four, as I have it from many hands. He hath given twelve Exhibitions to Lincoln College, of twenty Pounds per an. each."

The visit is noticed also in contemporary letters: *e.g.*, MS. Ballard 32, fol. 42, a letter from William Bishop of Gray's Inn to Dr. Arthur Charlett (Master of Univ. 1692-1722), dated 29 Aug. 1717:—"W^{t} the Good bishop of Durham has don lately is wonderfully great and Good, and He is commended and praised by All here, y^{t} wish well to our Church and Universities."

1718: a further gift to All Saints' Church, Oxford. In MS. Ballard 33, fol. 136^{v}, is a letter from Francis Taylor to Dr. Charlett, dated Univ. Coll. 15 May 1718, which contains this sentence:—"On Monday y^{e} Bp of Durham sent a 100^{lb} by Mr. Gray[a] of Lincoln for carrying on y^{e} *New Steeple.*"

1719: Lord Crewe is offended by Lincoln College.

The second hand in John Smith's MS., on fol. 39b and fol. 40, has this note:—"Having no children (not marrying till King William's time, in whose reign the title fell to him which is now by his death extinguishd) he became a great benefactor to the University of Oxford, and particularly to Lincoln College where he founded several scholarships and augmented y^{e} headship and fellowships, tho' he wou'd have been a better benefactor to that College, if they had not disobligd him in refusing of his recommendation of Dr. W^m^ Lupton (then prebendary of Durham and sometime his Lordship's chaplain) to succeed Dr. Adams in the Rectorship of that College, after the College had actually paid a compliment to his Ldship to leave it to his nomination to fix upon a proper person for them. This extraordinary proceeding of that society was occasioned by the apprehension they were under of Dr. Lupton's being too great a disciplinarian,[a] and the inclination they had of bringing in Dr. Morley. Therefore they hastened their election, pretending afterwards for their excuse that they did not receive his Lordship's letter of commands in due time. However Dr. Lupton was in all respects well qualifyed for that station and his Lordship had so great an opinion and regard to him that he made him executor of his will in conjunction with auditor Harley and Dr. [Thomas] Eden, prebendary of Durham, uncle to Sir Robert Eden of West Auckland, Bar^t^. His Ldship gave Dr. Lupton by his will a dozen silver plates besides his picture which the Dr. since deposited in the picture gallery in Oxford."

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[a] Richard Grey, adm. to Lincoln Coll. as servitor on 20 June 1712; B.A. 15 May 1716; nom. by Lord Crewe on 8 Oct. 1717 to the first of his newly founded Exhibitions in Linc. Coll.; M.A. 1718-9; D.D. 1731; died Archdeacon of Bedford 28 Feb. 1771.

In Hearne's Diary we have these notes, MS. Collections, vol. 83, p. 74:—"1719, June 29th, Mond. On Saturday last dyed in the evening ab^t^ 9 clock Dr. Ffitzherbert Adams,[b] Rector of Lincoln College and Prebendary of Durham. He died of the Gout in the Stomach." *Ibid.*, p. 77:—"1719, July 1, Wedn. Last night between 8 and 9 clock the Rector of Lincoln Dr. Adams was buried in All Hallows Church Oxon." *Ibid.*, p. 92:

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[a] According to Anthony Wood (*Life and Times*, iii. 142) the same consideration had determined the preceding election: "May 2, Sat., 1685, Fitzherbert Adams chose rector of Linc. Coll. against Dr. George Hickes. He had 9 voices and Dr. Hickes but 3. Occasioned by John Radcliffe and Edward Hopkins that they might have a governour that they might govern. Radcliffe represented Hickes to be a turbulent man, and that if he should be rector they should never be at quiet."

[b] Fitzherbert Adams, adm. Fellow of Linc. Coll. 17 Oct. 1672, res. 29 Sept. 1684; elected Rector 2 May 1685. He had long been a *persona grata* to Lord Crewe, who ultimately, on 14 April 1711, conferred on him the 11th stall (the "golden prebend") at Durham.

—"1719, Saturd. July 18th. This Morning Dr. John Morley, D.D., was chosen Rector of Lincoln College in opposition to Dr. William Lupton D.D. Dr. Morley had nine votes and Dr. Lupton only three. Dr. Morley is a very honest worth Man. Dr. Lupton is also a worthy Man, but not being near so stanch as Morley."

According to College tradition, the Fellows had asked Lord Crewe to indicate to them the person he wished to see elected Rector. He refused at first; but, upon a second or third request, he nominated Dr. Lupton. The College Register states that Morley[a] was elected "unanimi consensu sociorum[b] praesentium;" so that Lupton's three votes must have stayed away from the election. They were Lupton himself, Knightley Adams, and William Watts.

Contemporary letters sufficiently indicate the Bishop's mortification and the amazement of the public at the action of the College. In MS. Ballard 21, fol. 210r, is a letter from Robert Shippen to Dr. Charlett, dated Oxford, 2 Aug., 1719, which says:—

"The Bp of Durham has received the new Rector, with great, very great, coldness; said he 'knew nothing of him' when he sent up his name. The Bp. asked 'if he had any busyness;' he answered 'onely to pay his duty.' Went away immediately after dinner, and made Mr. Watts[c] his Chaplain that day, by way of Indignation, he being always for Lupton." In MS. Ballard 18, fol. 44ᵛ, is a letter from Anthony Hall of Queen's College to Dr. Charlett, dated 7 Aug., 1719, in which he says:—"It is matter of wonder to some people why Ly[n]coln College shou'd chuse Dr. Morley, after the Bp. of Durham, their great Benefactor, had recommended Dr. Lupton." In MS. Ballard 8, fol. 118, is a letter from Thomas Lindsay, Archbishop of Armagh, to Dr. Charlett, dated 13 Aug., 1719, in which he says:—"At the same time I am much troubled to hear yᵗ Lincoln College have lost so great a Benefactour as the Bp. of Durham by refusing of Dr. Lupton."

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[a] John Morley was adm. Fellow of Linc. Coll. 30 Nov., 1689, and res. 27 May, 1712. In the interval he had been Rector of Scotton, co. Linc. He died 12 June, 1731, and was buried in Scotton church.

[b] Morley's will directed a mourning-ring to be given to each Fellow who had been present at his election. It appears from the accounts of his executor that nine rings were paid for.

[c] William Watts, adm. Fellow of Lincoln 22 Dec., 1706, resigned 20 Sept., 1721. Dr. Adams, the deceased Rector, had been the Bishop's Chaplain; Crewe passed over Morley, the new Rector, and made Watts, who had strongly opposed Morley's election, his Chaplain. Other promotion soon followed. In MS. Ballard 33, fol. 150r, is a letter from Francis Taylour to Dr. Charlett, dated Univ. Coll., Oxon., 9 Aug., 1719, which says:—"Mr. Watts of Lincoln goes down to Durham

1719: Visit of John Robinson, Bishop of London. The Bishop of London paid a visit to Oxford in August this year, and went over to Stene. In MS. Ballard 21, fol. 200ᵛ, is a letter, dated "Trin. Coll. Aug. [13 or 15] 1719," from William Dobson to Dr. Charlett. Here it is said:—"Yesterday morning at 5, he," the Bishop of London, "took yᵉ Vicechancellor[a] with him in his Coach to Stene. The Bishop of Durham having some Intimation of his Intent recᵈ him with great Solemnity, in his princely purple Robes; had a very real Dinner for their Entertainment, having for that purpose procured (from his Neighbour Mr. Cartwright) a fat Buck, and good French wine, which uses to be a Rarity at Stene. The Bishop brought the Vicechancellor home the same night."

1720: Gift to the Bodleian Picture-Gallery. Hearne in his Diary, MS. Collections vol. 89, p. 152, says:—"1720, July 9th, Saturday. This afternoon I heard of five Pictures that the

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this week to be Install'd prebendary" [of the 6th stall, *vice* John Dolben removed to the 11th stall, vacant by Dr. Fitzherbert Adams' death]. "The Bishop, he says, has promisd to give him a living, his Design being never to prefer any in his Church, but to give the Benefices likewise in his Diocese to his Residentiaries." Watts in 1720 was presented by Lord Crewe to the Rectory of Hinton, Northts., and in 1721 to that of Wolsingham, co. Durh.

[a] Robert Shippen Principal of Brasenose.

Bishop of Durham, Dr. Crew, hath given to the Bodlejan Gallery viz. K. Charles II and his Queen, K. James II and his Queen, and a picture of himself (the Bishop)." In MS.Ballard 33, fol. 157, is a letter dated, London, 18 July, 1720, from Francis Taylor to Dr. Charlett, which says:—"I have lately had a kind letter from Cos^{n} Bourne of C. C. C. telling y^{e} Benefactions of y^{e} Bishop of Durham to y^{e} Picture Gallery."

1721: Lord Crewe's episcopal jubilee. At the end of John Smith's MS. there is a note by the second hand:—"Lord Crew had a grand Jubilee at Stene on y^{e} day of his being 50 y^{rs} Bishop. On w^{ch} occasion he invited over y^{e} Vice-chan^{r} of Oxford,[a] all y^{e} heads of y^{e} Colleges and Halls, and y^{e} proctors; and they all went in their formalities; and a Grand entertainm^{t} was provided for y^{m} wth a band of musick playing y^{e} whole time. The Bishop set at y^{e} Head of y^{e} 1st Table; Dr. Lupton, of y^{e} 2^{d} Table; and D^{r} [Thomas] Mangey, at y^{e} head of y^{e} 3^{d} Table."

Thomas Hearne's note about this is as follows (MS. Collections, vol. 91, p. 212):—"1721, July 3d, Monday. Yesterday being the day on w^{ch} Bp. Crew, now Bp. of Durham, was consecrated Bp. of Oxon., this day a Visit was p^{d} him by our Vice-Ch., both the Proctors, and several others, at his L^{d}ship's seat at Stean in Northamptonsh., purely to flatter the Bp. and to try for Money."

1721: Lord Crewe and Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*. Wood's venom against Crewe was well-known, and the gossips of the day were on the alert to find out what Wood had said about the Bishop in the continuation of his Athenae, which on his death-bed he had entrusted to Thomas Tanner (1695), and which was now on the eve of publication.

Tanner baulked their expectations. In MS. Ballard 4, fol. 131, is a letter from Tanner to Dr. Charlett dated Norwich, 22 Apr.,

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[a] Shippen, again.

Book that Anth. à Wood would never own abundance that is in it, were he living. No doubt Tricks have been plaid and Dr. Tanner hath neither done Justice to Anthony nor got any Credit by letting the Papers come out in this manner."

In MS. Ballard 2, fol. 18, is a letter from R. R. (*i.e.* Dr. Richard Rawlinson) to Thomas Rawlins, dated 15 Apr., 1737, in which it is said:—"Bp. Tanner has assured me that there was no alteration in any one character, except an omission in that of Bp. Crew, who was spared as he had been a great benefactor to the University and Lincoln College. The original was left many months in the bookseller's hands for the satisfaction of all that were curious."

1721: Lord Crewe's death. At the end of John Smith's MS. is the following note by the second hand:—"He dy'd[a] Sep^{r} 18, 1722, and was buryd at Stene. He held y^{e} Bishoprick of Durham 47 years as he had done y^{t} of Oxford 3, continuing a Bishop 50 years 3 months and 2 days; being a longer time y^{n} any Englishman ever enjoyd y^{t} Honour, except Thomas Bouchier, ArchBishop of Canterbury, who held y^{e} sees of Worcester Ely and Canterbury 51 years and 21 days. He was succeeded by W^{m} Talbot, Bishop of Oxford and then of Salisbury." Hearne's Diary notices the death in these terms, MS. Collections, vol. 92, p. 83:—"1722: Sept. 20, Wednesd. On Monday night last [Sept 18] died Dr. Crew, Bp. of Durham, at his Seat at Stene in Northamptonshire, of a great Age. He died ab^{t} 9 Clock." *Ibid.*, p. 91:—"1722: Sept. 27, Wednesday. Mr. Catteral of Oriel College hath just put to the Theatre Press a Poëm upon the Death of Bp. Crew. This is the same Catteral who published a Poëm about Socrates, and another call'd *The Conflagration.*"

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[a] There was a service of commemoration held in Lincoln College, on which occasion the College allowed Richard Hutchins, Fellow, two guineas "for a speech in chapel upon the death of the Bishop of Durham."

INDEX.

Adams, Dr. Fitzherbert, 40, 41
Anne, Queen, 32, 34

Baker, Thomas, of Cambridge, 23
Belasyse, John, 1st Baron, 17
Bentley. Dr. Richard, 23
Berwick, 16, 19
Blandford, Bishop of Worcester, 8, 10-12
Buckingham, George, 2nd Duke of, 11, 14
Buckingham, Catherine, Duchess of, 33
Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, 25, 30, 33, 34

Calais, 11
Cambridge, 5, 23, 44
Cartwright of Aynho, 42
Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, 21
Castlemaine, Lady, 9
Charles I., 1, 2
Charles II., 2, 6, 8-15, 17, 19, 20, 43
Charlett, Dr. Arthur, v., 38-43
Cheynell (?), in Bucks, 3
Chichester, 10
Clarendon, Edward, 1st Earl of, 8, 9
Compton, Bishop of London, 14, 16, 17, 20, 22, 29, 32
Cosins, Bishop of Durham, 12
Crewe of Crewe, family of, 1, 36
Crewe of Steane, family of, iv., 1
Crewe, John, 1st Baron, of Steane, 1-3, 17, 19 ; John (*ob.* 1681), 19 ; Nathaniel, 3rd Baron, *passim* ; Sir Thomas (*ob.* 1634), 1 ; Thomas, 2nd Baron, 2, 19, 33
Croft, Bishop of Hereford, 8, 14, 32

Danby, Thomas, 1st Earl of, 14, 19 ; created (1694) 1st Duke of Leeds, 17, 30, 33
Declaration for liberty of conscience, 23, 24
Dolben, Archbishop of York, 8, 14, 17
Durham—
  City and district, 17, 18, 30, 31
  Prerogatives of the See of, 15-17, 20, 21, 34
  Chapter of, 16, 31
  Militia of, 17, 18, 22

Ecclesiastical Commission, the, 21, 22, 24, 25
Eyre, Dr. Samuel, 26

Fauconberg, Thomas, 2nd Viscount, 17, 28
Fell, Bishop of Oxford, 6, 12
Fenwick, Sir John, 22, 33
Forster, Dorothy, 34

George I., 34
Grey, Dr. Richard, iv., 39

Halifax, Marquess of, *see* Savile
Hearne, Thomas, v., 23, 34, 37, 40, 44-46
Hickman, Henry, 3
Holland, 11, 26, 27
Homer, 4
Hood, Dr. Paul, 4, 6, 9

James, Duke of York, 9, 10, 12-15, 17-19 ; James II., 20-22, 24-26, 30, 33, 43, 45
Jeffreys, Chief Justice of King's Bench, 21
Jenkins, Sir Leoline, 7
Johnson, Samuel (" Julian "), 22

Ken, Bishop, 32

Lauderdale, John, Duke of, 15, 18, 19
Leeds, Duke of, *see* Danby
Lupton, Dr. William, 38-43

Mary, the Virgin, 10
Mary Beatrice, Queen, *see* York
Mary, Princess of Orange, 26; Queen, 23, 25, 27, 33
Mazarin, Cardinal, 9
Militia, the, 17, 18, 22
Monk, George, 2
Monmouth, Duke of, 17, 22
Montagu, Ralph, 1st Duke of, 16
Morley, Bishop of Winton, 8
Morley, Dr. John, 40-42
Morton, Dr. John, 23
Musgrave, Sir Christopher, 30

Newbold, county Leicester, 19
Newcastle, 16
Non-jurors, 26, 32, 39

Oates, Titus, 13, 19
Orange, Prince of, *see* William
Ordination, farcical examination for, 8
Owen, Dr. John, 5
Oxford, Robert Harley, Earl of, 33
Oxford—
  Christ Church, 1, 36, 37
  Lincoln College, 3-7, 9, 12, 35, 37-41, 46
  Magdalen College, 24
  Queen's College, 34, 37, 38
  All Saints Church, 9, 37-40
  Crown Inn, 36
  Picture Gallery, 40, 43
  Proctors' Black-book, 7
  Vesper Supper, 5

Petre, Edward ("Father"), 21, 24, 25
Portsmouth, Duchess of, 20
Preston, Richard, 1st Viscount, 24, 30
"Pretender," the, 25

Rawlinson, Dr. Richard, 46
Robinson, Bishop of London, 42
Running footmen, 15

Sacheverell, Dr. Henry, 30
Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, 17, 19, 21, 22, 25
Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, 6
Sandwich, Edward, 1st Earl of, 13, 27
Savile, George, afterwards Marquess of Halifax, 10
Scotland, 17-19
Shaftesbury, Anthony, 1st Earl of, 13, 14
Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, 8, 11, 13, 16
Shippen, Dr. Robert, 41-43
Smith, Dr. John, iv., 38; Dr. Joseph, 34, 36; "Narrative," 18, 28
South, Dr. Robert, 20
Steane, county Northampton, iv., 1, 34, 35, 42, 43, 46
Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, 29
Surplice, 6

Tanner, Thomas, 43-46
Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, 20, 23
Tully, Dr. Thomas, 20

Wallis, Dr. John, 44
Watts, Gilbert, 4; William, 41
Weymouth, Thomas, 1st Viscount, 5
Wharton, Thomas, 1st Marquess, 34
Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, 11
William, Prince of Orange, 25, 26, 45; William III., 23, 25-29, 32, 33
Witney, 12
Wood, Anthony, 40, 43-46

York, Duke of, *see* James
  Anne, Duchess of, 9, 11
  Maria, Duchess of, 13, 14, 18; Queen, 25

THE JOURNAL

OF

MAJOR RICHARD FERRIER, M.P.,

WHILE TRAVELLING IN FRANCE IN THE YEAR 1687.

WITH A BRIEF MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE.

COMPILED BY

RICHARD F. E. FERRIER

AND

JOHN A. H. FERRIER,

TWO OF HIS LINEAL DESCENDANTS.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XCIV.

NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE JOURNEY.

As Major Ferrier in his Diary gives an account of the statue of Louis XIV. set up in 1686, the journey cannot have been earlier than 1687. As it could not have taken place after war had been declared between England and France, it cannot have been later than 1688. Of the two possible years, 1687 is shown to be the right one by the date of Monday, March 28th, given at the commoncement.

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE

OF

MAJOR RICHARD FERRIER,

M.P. FOR GREAT YARMOUTH IN 1708, 1710, AND 1713.

MAJOR RICHARD FERRIER, the author of this interesting journal,[a] a descendant of a family who had for 200 years supplied mayors to Norwich and bailiffs to Yarmouth, was the only son and heir of Richard Ferrier, Esquire, and Judith, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Major Thomas Wilde.[b]

The family flourished during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in West Norfolk, occurring lords of the manors of Gressenhall, Wendling, and neighbouring villages. About the middle of the fifteenth century a younger branch of the family settled in Norwich, where they soon became prominent, Richard Ferrier having been elected mayor of that important city no less than five times in 1473, 1478, 1483, 1493, and 1498. His son Robert was elected mayor of Norwich in 1526, and took a prominent part in the quelling of Kett's Rebellion, and his son Richard was also elected mayor of that city in 1596. Robert,[a] his son, was the first of the family to settle in Yarmouth, and ever since that time the family have resided there.[b] He soon began to take a leading part in the troublous times of his day. In conjunction with John Carter,[c] his brother-in-law, he had been prominent amongst those who came forward with voluntary loans of plate and money for the payment of the parliamentary soldiers at the beginning of the civil war, contributing on that occasion £20 11s. 8d. in plate. He was elected bailiff of Yarmouth in 1643.

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[a] The journal which follows was bequeathed with many other interesting family documents to one of the writers of this Memoir by Miss Judith Ferrier, of Hemsby, a great-great-granddaughter of the author.

[b] The Wildes resided at Lowestoft, and were a family of old standing there. Early in life Major Wilde resided in Yarmouth, where, says Swindon, he was in 1648 appointed Lieutenant of the Horse raised for the defence of the town when threatened with an attack by the fleet which joined the Duke of York at the Hague. His epitaph says he was "slayn by the Dutch in the defence of his King and country."

Robert, his eldest son, was for many years an alderman of Yarmouth. He married Elizabeth, the second daughter of Sir George England, and left one son Benjamin, who married Elizabeth, the heiress of Nathaniel D'Eye of Eye, Esquire, and left one son Robert, an attorney-at law, who, on August 21st, 1739, was appointed town clerk of Yarmouth, and being chosen mayor in 1750 was allowed to carry out the duties of town clerk by deputy; but on the 3rd February, 1753, when probably the political power of his party had waned, the corporation resolved on a ballot of 29 to 20 that, unless Mr. Ferrier resign his office of alderman, he no longer remain town clerk, and he, refusing to give up that office, was dismissed.

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[a] "In 1630 there was an appeal to the Privy Council as to the right of Mary, the wife of Robert Ferrier, to sit in a pew in St. Nicholas Church, Great Yarmouth, appropriated to the wives of aldermen. Such were the trifles about which the Lords of the Privy Council were at the time troubled." (Palmer's *Perlustration of Great Yarmouth.*)

Robert Ferrier by his will, made in 1648, bequeathed "To upholding and maintaining the Artillery Company in Yarmouth, £40."

[b] The following will of Richard Ferrier of Thurne, near Great Yarmouth, and dated 1644, is very curious:—

"I will that my dead body be handsomely trussed up in a black bullock's hide and be decently buried in the churchyard of Thurne at the chancel's end there. . . . In witness, &c," "and thus I take my leave of this world Deo Gloria, Amicis Gratia, mihi misericordia. Amen. R. Ferrier."

[c] John Carter married Alice, one of the daughters of Richard Ferrier; their son Nathaniel married at Stoke Newington, in 1678, Mary, daughter of General Ireton, and granddaughter of the Lord Protector.

John Carter was appointed bailiff in 1642, and two years afterwards the Earl of Manchester, the Parliamentary General, appointed him commander-in-chief of the militia of Yarmouth with authority "to execute martial law upon all offenders and delinquents."

Shortly after his appointment to the town clerkship war was declared against Spain, and Ives,[a] in his diary, informs us that on the 31st October, 1739, Mr. Mayor and a body of gentlemen met at the town hall and thence proceeded to the cross, where the town clerk (Mr. Robert Ferrier), read the declaration for war against Spain with the naked sword, thence to the bridge foot and read the declaration, and thence drank success to his Majesty's forces by sea and land.

He possessed considerable landed estates in Norfolk and Suffolk, and died in 1768, and was buried in Starston Church, Suffolk, where there is a mural monument to his memory. He left one son, Robert England Ferrier, of Caius College, Cambridge, who died s. p., and two daughters, Catherine and Elizabeth. Catherine married William Blake, Esquire, of Swanton Abbotts, Norfolk, who assumed by Royal license in 1837 the arms and surname of Jex, and Elizabeth married Robert Purvis, Esquire, of Beccles, Suffolk, and left several children, two of whom entered the Royal Navy.

Richard, the second son of Robert the Bailiff, in 1643, also interested himself greatly in the politics of his day, having been for many years an alderman of Yarmouth. He was elected to fill the office of Bailiff in 1691, and then had the honour of receiving at his house, Dr. Moore,[b] Bishop of Norwich, on his primary visitation.

He married, as has been stated, Judith, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Major Thomas Wilde, and left one son, Major Richard Ferrier, the author of the following journal.

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[a] John Ives, Suffolk Herald Extraordinary, author of the remarks upon the Garianonum of the Romans.

[b] The Bishop had previously been waited upon by a deputation of the Corporation, who presented his lordship with half a tun of wine and desired him to take a bed at Mr. Bailiff's. (Palmer's *Perlustration of Great Yarmouth.*)

Major Richard Ferrier headed what was then known as the Jacobite or High Church Party in Yarmouth, and took a great interest in the affairs of his native town. At the age of 19 he was chosen a common councilman, and shortly after this at the age of 23 he was elected to fill the aldermanic chair, vacant by the death of his uncle John Ferrier, who had played so conspicuous a part in the affairs of the town, having been for many years an alderman of Yarmouth and Bailiff in 1680, when he had the honour of entertaining the Duke of York, afterwards James II. upon his visiting Yarmouth on the 10th March, 1681, in one of the Royal yachts.

At the very early age of 24 Major Ferrier was for the first time elected to fill the office of Bailiff, when great exertions were made to equip a powerful fleet to counteract the designs of France, which threatened an invasion, and Mr. Ferrier, writing to his "dear partner," Mr. Godfrey, his co-bailiff, then in town, says:—"The Admiralty have directed the convoy to stay till further orders; I suppose on the news of y^e^ French taking so many ships bound to Ostend. Last post came orders to Captain Stephens, Commander of y^e^ 'Roebuck,' a pretty frigate of 32 guns, to attend our directions as Captain Lyall did. T'would do well, did you as one of the Bailiffs wait on y^e^ board and thank them on behalf of y^e^ Corporation, and pray the continuance of their ldsps further favour, perhaps such an address may do us more favour than you are aware of, for great men will be courted, and 'twere pity, for want of a little smooth language to lose what is of so much importance to o^r^ trade. You had not better carry Mr. Fuller (then member for the town) with you. His deportment is not very pleasing to y^e^ board; and 'tis thought here he has done us great dis-service by his carriage to those commissioners (but this *inter nos*)."[a]

In 1695 he married Ellen, one of the daughters and co-heirs of

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[a] Palmer's continuation of Manship's *History of Great Yarmouth*.

Robert Longe,[a] of Reymerstone and Spixworth, by Ellen his fourth wife, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Thomas Gurney, Esquire,[b] of West Barsham, "and on his return to the Town for the first time after his marriage, the inhabitants made great preparations with marks of the utmost honour and respect. A great many flags and banners were set out along the quay from the bridge to the south gate. The ships in the river had all their colours set the whole day and their guns charged to salute him, a great many of the inhabitants going out to meet him. Between seven and eight in the evening they entered the town, the cavalcade consisting of about 300 horse, which marched in good order along the quay from the bridge to Major Ferrier's house. After the horse followed a considerable number of chaises and chariots, and his own closed the procession, which was very fine and gave great satisfaction to several thousands of spectators who were assembled to behold it, and the ringing of bells, firing of guns, and the loud acclamations of the people, sufficiently demonstrated what great and just esteem and respect they had for so generous and worthy a gentleman."[c]

In 1706 he was for the second time elected mayor. In 1708 he was returned to Parliament for the borough of Great Yarmouth with Colonel the Honourable Roger Townshend, and at the general election in 1710 "Captain Ferrier," as he was then called, was returned at the head of the poll, having Benjamin England[a] for his colleague, the numbers on the poll[b] being—

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[a] Robert Longe of Reymerstone married four times, and by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir Francis Bacon, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was the father of Francis Longe, who, through the influence of Major Richard Ferrier, who had married his half sister, was appointed Recorder of Yarmouth in 1712. The latter gentleman married Susannah, daughter and heir of Tobias Frere of Redenhall, and died in 1724. The Longes have for several centuries maintained a good position in the county of Norfolk. They are at present represented by Robert Bacon Longe, Esquire.

[b] The old knightly house of De Gourney in the main line thus became extinct, this lady representing them in right of her mother. According to Mr. Gurney in the *Record of the House of Gournay* the Gurneys of Norwich and Keswick descend from Francis Gournay, sixth son of Henry Gournay, of West Barsham, by Ellen Blennerhassett, his wife, and John, his grandson, born in 1665, is stated to have settled in Norwich, and became the founder of the present family.

[c] Palmer's *Prelustration of Great Yarmouth.*

Ferrier	278
England	269
Townshend[c]	231
Ellys[d]	173

On this occasion a sum of £15 was voted to Mr. Ferrier to buy wine "as a token of respect for his services."

Mr. Palmer tells that Ferrier and England were of the "honest Church Party," which meant they were supporters of Dr. Sacheverell, then at the height of his ephemeral popularity, and they were returned, said their friends, "notwithstanding the undermining tricks usual to the Whigs." The names Ferrier and England were inserted in the "true and exact" list of those "worthy patriots" who had remedied the evils of the then late ministry and to their "eternal honour" had supported and retrieved the credit of the nation and preserved the Church from being overthrown by fanatics—Mr. Ferrier's name appearing in every division in favour of the Doctor.

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[a] He was the third son of Sir George England, who was knighted on the occasion of Charles the Second's visit to Great Yarmouth in 1671. Major Ferrier was a connection of the Englands through the marriage of his uncle Robert with Elizabeth, the second daughter of Sir George England. The Englands played a conspicuous part in local politics during the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Mr. George England, eldest son of Sir George, represented Yarmouth in the six Parliaments 1679, 1680, 1681, 1690, 1698, 1700, and also in the Convention of 1688. He was also Recorder of Yarmouth, and his nephew, Major Ferrier, writing to his "dear partner" in London, on the 10th of February, 1696, says, "We yesterday ended ye Sessions. I begin to abate of my hopes of Mr. Recorder's recovery—he seems to decay now sensibly. I pray God restore him to us, for we shant be presently aware of y^e greatness of our loss should it please God to take him from us."

[b] Dec. 10th, 1710.—The Chamberlyns were ordered to pay the charges of the booths of the several candidates of the late election of burgesses.

[c] Second son of the first Viscount Townshend.

[d] Le Neve, amongst his pedigrees of knights, tempore Car. II., gives a pedigree of Anthony Ellys, of Great Yarmouth. His grandson, Anthony Ellys, married Judith, sister of Major Ferrier. Chalmer's Biographical Dictionary contains an interesting life of their son Anthony, who afterwards became Bishop of St. David's.

He was returned a third time in 1713, and as a reward for his political services was in this year made a coasting waiter in the port of London, a sinecure place,[a] which was confirmed to him on the accession of George I. "with all the profits, perquisites, advantages, and emoluments" to the same belonging, and was the same year appointed a Major[b] of the Battalion of Fusileers of Militia of Great Yarmouth. Ever anxious for the welfare of his town he was mainly instrumental in the building of the Town Hall[c] (then called the New Hall) in 1715, also in the Guildhall and Charity School and in obtaining an act for making a causeway between Yarmouth and Caister.

He took a great interest in church matters, for many years acting as one of the churchwardens at the old parish church,[d] an appointment his ancestors had held on several occasions. He also interested himself in obtaining what was then a long-felt desire, namely, a church, or chapel-at-ease, in the south part of the town of Great Yarmouth, and it was by his exertions that an act was obtained, he being then one of the town's representatives in Parliament.[a]

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[a] This patent, beautifully engrossed on vellum, with the king's portrait engraved and also the major's commissions, are now in the possession of the family.

[b] The commission as "Major of the Battalion of Fusileers of Militia of Great Yarmouth in 1713 was granted by James, Duke, Marquis and Earl of Ormonde, Earl of Ossory and Brecknock, Viscount Thurles, Baron of Arklow, Dingwell, Langtheny and Moore Park, Lord of the Regalities and Liberties of the County Palatine of Tipperary, one of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Somerset, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Norfolk, Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Dublin, High Steward of the Cities of Westminster, Bristol, and Exeter, Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, Captain General and Commander-in-chief of all her Majesty's forces, etc."

[c] This building was in 1880 demolished and the present town hall erected in its place.

[d] Manship in his *History of Yarmouth*, referring to St. Nicholas Church, says "a gallery was also constructed across the arch leading into the chancel from

The chapel was consecrated by the Bishop of Norwich in 1715, and the sermon preached at the consecration by the Rev. Barry Love[b] was printed and dedicated to the "Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors and to Major Richard Ferrier."[c]

In 1720 he was for the third time elected mayor. He resided in a fine old Jacobean house situate at the south end of the Quay erected in the 17th century by Roger Drury, where he gathered around him a large circle of literary and other acquaintances. Dean Davies during his stay in Yarmouth having been a constant visitor at his house.[d]

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the south trancept; when this gallery was removed in 1846 it was found to rest upon four columns bearing these inscriptions—

Anno dom.	S. Mortimer.
1590.	R. Ferrier.
R. Woolhouse.	C. W.
J. Harris.	T. H. B. T.

[a] A facsimile in silver gilt of the corporation mace in miniature was presented to him as a souvenir of his services in connection with this movement.

[b] Mr. Love was minister of Yarmouth from 1691 to 1722. The Rev. William Lyng, father of the Rev. Benjamin Lyng, who married Anne, one of Major Ferrier's daughters, succeeded him as lecturer of Yarmouth in 1672.

[c] In 1720 his nephew, Anthony Ellys, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, was appointed minister.

[d] The Dean in his Diary makes frequent mention of Richard Ferrier, the bailiff in 1691, and his son, Major Richard Ferrier.

On July 18th, 1689, he says: "I spent this evening with Dr. Hutson in company with Captain Ferrier and Mr. Fuller."

On Oct. 20th, 1689: "I went and waited upon Dr. Godfrey, Mr. Ferrier, Captain Ferrier, Mr. England, Captain Fuller, and Mr. Bransby, and then came home and supped with Lieutenant Ellys and his lady, who presented me with a broad piece of gold."

Feb. 16th, 1691: "I preached my farewell sermon, after which I waited upon Mr. England and the Bailiff, then on Mr. Ferrier, who gave me a broad piece."

Dec. 22nd, 1691: "I dined this day at Alderman Ferrier's."

He also enjoyed a considerable estate at Hemsby, Norfolk, where he had a house in which the family partially resided for generations. His town house, as well as that of his son, is depicted on Corbridge's map.[a] He died in 1728, aged 57, when he was, says Ives, interred in St. Nicholas Church with great pomp and splendour, and very much lamented by all who knew him, and there is a highly laudatory epitaph to his memory there, as follows :—

" Rich^{dl} Ferrier Armigeri
Hujus Burgi et decoris et desiderii
Exundantem Ingenii Fontem, morum Suavitatem,
Et quæ generosum ornant et cohonestant
Dicant Familiaries ;
Eximiam rei politicæ peritiam,
Regni Comitia ;
Labores indefessos, et præ cæteris Delicias,
Solum Natale.
Quæ suscepit munia (et varia certè)
Gravitèr explevit, affabrè expolivit
Vixit fatis patriæ
At quantula est aura popularis
Quantula gloria fluxa et fragilis
Vixit et sibi et suis
Obiit die quarto Calend X^{bris}
Anno { Œtat 57mo
Domini 1720vo "

But there were those who decried him and by them a free translation was circulated, of which the following are some of the verses :—

"Beneath this stone lies Richard Ferrier, Esquire,
Of this Boro' the ornament and the desire,
Who in sweetness of manner and generous o'erflowing
Was in all that belongs to a gentleman, Knowing.
His acquaintance this vouch—for his politic skill,
We refer to his votes on the French Commerce Bill.
The posts he enjoyed tho' quite varied in kind,
Could not be more varied than was his own mind.

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[a] This map, published in 1725, is a south-west prospect of Yarmouth, containing views of the public buildings and principal houses then existing.

The mayor—the member—the placeman being proof,
Till his country cried out he had lived long enough.
How transient, is popular, honour, and glory
May be learned from the sum of this famous man's story." [a]

He left one son, Richard, upon whom the following satirical poem was written:—

"Here lies the body of Richard II.,
Whose genius and manner of life being reckoned.
We all must admit was Daddy's own son,
As witness my hand, Tom Missenden." [b]

This gentleman had, like his father, served his town politically and was elected mayor in 1724, and it was during his mayoralty that Dr. Camil, Rector of Bradwell, Suffolk, preached his famous sermon reflecting upon the conduct of certain gentlemen holding positions of power in the town. This sermon much offended the mayor, who called the council together, and then sent for the clergymen and severely reprimanded them for allowing Dr. Camil to preach such a sermon in the parish church, and ordered them to forbid him to enter the pulpit again. Thereupon the doctor published his sermon, to prove that it only contained some expressions against the crying vices of the age.[c]

Besides the above-mentioned Richard, Major Ferrier left the following daughters:—Ellen, who married Dr. Gallant,[d] an eminent physician; Judith, who married Joshua Smith,[e] Esquire, of Thrigby Hall, Norfolk; Anne, who married the Rev. Benjamin Lyng, rector of St. Lawrence, South Walsham; Elizabeth, who died unmarried, and Mary, who married Thomas Milles, Esquire, of Billockly Hall, whose only child Mary married James Riddell, Esquire, of Caister, created a baronet in '778 by the title of Sir George Riddell, of Ardnamurchan, and left two sons, Sir Thomas Milles Riddell and George James Riddell.

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[a] These verses are given in Palmer's "Perlustration of Great Yarmouth."

[b] "Tom Missenden was lecturer here, and doubtless an unwarrantable use was made of his name." (Palmer's *Perlustration of Yarmouth.*)

[c] The late Charles John Palmer, F.S.A., says, "Just fancy the mayor offended with the sermon, calling the Council together and reprimanding the clergy for too much freedom of speech in the pulpit."

[d] This family of Gallant is extinct.

[e] This family of Smith is also extinct, their estates and property passed to their descendant, Miss Lydia Baret, and thence to the Ferriers.

George James Riddell died in a duel in 1783, aged 24. Sir Walter Scott, in his last edition of the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," in reference to the duel, says: "A circumstance more painful to the feelings of a father and a man of high sense of honour cannot be imagined than that which befel Sir James Riddell, Bart By some accident (the particulars of which I have forgotten) he became possessed of a letter which he knew contained a challenge for his son. If he concealed the letter, his son would incur the disgrace of having avoided a duel without sufficient cause; and if he suffered the letter to reach his son and he should fall, his father might be considered accessory to his death."

"He determined to allow the matter to take its course. The son accepted the challenge—went out and received a wound of which he died on the following day (the 22nd April, 1783)."

There is an engraved portrait of this unfortunate young man, who was a lieutenant in the second troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, under which is an inscription stating that "His conduct as an officer and a gentleman was agreeable to the sentiments of his corps, and it met with the approbation of his king, who expressed the greatest concern and regret at his unfortunate fate."[a]

"Richard II." married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of John Smith, Esquire, of Yarmouth, and died in 1739, aged 44, leaving two sons, Richard and Robert, and one daughter Judith, who married Captain James Smith, R.N.

Captain James Smith afterwards married Lady Ward, who, says Palmer, in his *Perlustration of Yarmouth*, lived in the household of a Yarmouth butcher. One day the butcher invited some friends to dinner, and Mary Fair, for that was her name, made ready the table. Her mistress wanting her found her seated at the head of the table dispensing imaginary good things to her supposed guests seated round it, all of whom she addressed by titles of honour. She, however, could not abandon the idea that she should one day really preside at such a table, nor was she disappointed, for in 1788 John, third Viscount Dudley and Ward, fell in love with and married her.

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[a] The diary of the late Charles John Palmer.

Richard, the eldest son of "Richard II.," held a commission in the army, and died s.p., while his brother Robert was a captain in the Royal Navy. Robert, on the death of his brother Richard, retired from the navy and went to reside on the family estate at Hemsby, but, unlike his ancestors, took no active part in politics. His grandson, the late Mr. Richard Ferrier, for many years one of the leaders of the Yarmouth Tory party, died in 1868, leaving one son and two grandsons, the compilers of this memoir resident in Yarmouth.[a]

Great Yarmouth,
September, 1893.

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[a] The arms borne by the family are, Argent, on a bend sable three horseshoes of the first; crest, a nag's head erased argent.

JOURNAL

OF

MAJOR RICHARD FERRIER.

MARCH y^{e} 28th being Monday we left Yarmouth and in y^{e} stage coach rode to London in which City we arrived two dayes after where having stayed about a week and furnished ourselves with all things necessary for our ensuing voyage we did on y^{e} eighth Aprill following take boat for Gravesend just stopping at Eriff a small village by y^{e} Thames side, from whence we proceeded up to Town. We rested not long there but forthwith hired horses to Suttenborn (where we lodged y^{t} night) passing through a great many little country towns before we came to Rochester, which lying in our way ought to be mentioned, and also Chattum in which river we saw severall of His Majesties Men-of-War (ships of great bigness) at anchor. We also passed by a great many pleasent plantations of cherry trees which in y^{t} part of England are very frequent. From thence we did y^{e} day following ride to Canterbury (not meeting anything in any way worth our observation), where we lodged at y^{e} King's Head and were treated very civilly; y^{e} first thing we took notice of in y^{e} city was y^{e} Cathedrall, y^{t} report of which we had heard before our approaching it; it is a very fine building beautified on y^{e} outside with severall small turretts, 2 large steeples and a spire, one whereof (it being y^{t} which we ascended) is accounted by all to be as high if not exceeding y^{e} Monument of London in height; at your entrance, within with eighteen stately pillars which support y^{e} body of it. Passing further we descended some steps into y^{e} French Church, which being under the Quire is upheld with a great many small arches, it is somewhat dark, but very large, and contains a vast number of people, they being there reputed to be near half y^{e} town. Coming from thence at y^{e} west end of y^{e} church we saw severall tombs one whereof we took particular notice of, which was of Dean Forthesby being covered with black alabaster, and on the sides cut all y^{e} bones of man's body. There is another of Nicholas Wotton, y^{e} first Archbishop of y^{e} Diocess,[a] over against them is that of Henry the Fourth and his Queen, and hard by them lies Edward the Black Prince curiously cut out in brass, with his sword by him, at his feet at leopard, and over his head his coat of mail and head peice. Something lower is the monument of Cardinal Pool and abundance more of less note. There are two windows shewing all y^{e} places and stories in scripture most finely painted, not far from whence is y^{e} place where St. Thomas' shrine stood, nothing in y^{e} least remaining to be seen but y^{e} stones wheron they kneeled, which are very much worn. There is in y^{e} Cathedrall 2 Quires, one whereof is not now used, the roof of which is of Irish Oak that no vermine may breed in it; the other is no ways curious but adorned like others of y^{e} same nature. The City of Canterbury is old and not very large though y^{e} circumference of y^{e} walls runns out a great way, there are six gates, and on y^{e} south side of y^{e} town a decayed castle stands opposite to a high mount which is there cast up. There is but one good street running East and West with other small lanes and allyes crossing it. There are 17 Parishes all of which are small & to one or two of y^{m} not above 12 persons resort. It is situated very pleasently at y^{e} bottom of a valley & and has delicate gardens & greens to walk on which are delightfull. Aprill y^{e} eleventh in y^{e} morning we came forward for Dover riding for y^{e} most part over hills and vales, y^{e} way being also very stony; after having taken up our lodgins we visited y^{e} Castle, which east of y^{e} town is seated on ye Clifts, from whence we could easily perceive those of Callice. It is strong having much cannen and being guarded with a exceeding thick wall on all sides onely yt which ye sea defends up which ye hills being so steep is no ascent. Ye square Castle is full of decayed old roomes, which we passed through but were afraid lest by ye giving way of ye rotten planchers we should have fallen to ye bottom; there is a small chamber where at ye King's being in those parts he used to lay, it is cut out of ye main wall & is fourteen foot & a half in thickness; ye leads wherewith ye Castle is covered are very thick & on one side near ye walls we saw ye King's foot cut out. In ye Court there is an old Church which wn a garrison kept there was frequented but is since run to ruin, there are ye remains of a great many fine tombs wch now can just be seen to have been such. The Cannon yt Queen Elizabeth gave to be placed there is twenty-four foot long & is ever since in remembrance of her called her pocket pistol. The Town is small standing just by ye sea, they have a very good harbour which dos flow 15 foot at ye nape tides. There is very strange fish taken on ye beach, ye body like an ele, a long beak & a broad tail, & on ye stones yt lyes there there dos grow a very pleasant flower called Coles which they eat with their boil'd meat, ye top whereof tasts like speragrass & ye bottom like collyflower. Aprill ye 13th we came from Dover at 8 of ye clock in ye morning in ye packet boat towards Calais, which having a fair wind we ran in five hours & an half, but could not by reason of ye lowness of ye water either goe into harbour with our ship or goe ashore at seaside with ye boat. We got as near ye shore as we could, which was about a bow shott from whence we were by men who wett themselves on purpose carryed & sett on land. We walked into town & took up our lodgins at ye Golden Lyon, a house standing close to ye market. We stayed there two days & yn hired horses for Dunkirk, the way thither lying by ye seaside. We passed through a great many villages before we came to Graveling, which being a place of good importance ought not to be passed through without some observation. It is garded with a double mote & double wall, very strong gates, & draw bridges, we going over them were taking by y^e^ soldiers & carryed before y^e^ Mayor, who giving us leave to pass we were no more stopped till we came to Dunkirk, where riding over six bridges we were hindered from proceeding any further till we had told our names & of what country we were, which having done we came into Town. It is surrounded with a treble wall & six motes onely on y^e^ side towards y^e^ harbour which to admiration dos flow twenty-five foot, y^e^ peers running into sea near half a mile; at y^e^ end of y^m^ stands a very strong castle called y^e^ Ricebanck, which is well fortified & wherein is continually a good garrison of soldiers. Afterwards demanding leave of y^e^ Governor we went into y^e^ cittadle, which in circumference is bigger y^n^ y^e^ town itself & is very much stronger it being defended with a high wall & rampierd, & just within that a broad mote which is filled or emptied by y^e^ sea according to pleasure, & next such strange fortifications y^t^ as one would think they were impossible to be taken so they are impossible to be described. From thence we walked to see y^e^ dock y^e^ King of France is making to lay his men of war in. It is cut out of a very high hill on y^e^ west side of the River. There are continually a great number of soldiers at work in it they having for their labour 3^d^. a day, their ordinary pay being so small y^t^ without some addition to it they could never subsist. Dunkirk itself is handsome y^e^ streets being large & y^e^ houses high; but y^e^ noblest part of y^e^ town is y^e^ place whereon they exercise y^e^ soldiers, which is a square that can contain above 1,000 men placed in order. We stayed there but just so long as to take a view of its fortifications & other curiosities, which was one night, & so returned back to Calais. We there took up our old lodgins, it being not far from y^e^ Messenger's & a civill house. The town is very full of inhabitants though they be for y^e^ most part very poor; it is surrounded with a double wall & rampiers & very strong gates which are always garded with musqueters.

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[a] Wotton was the first dean.

Aprill ye 28th we took horse for Paris, being fourteen in company, not meeting any thing considerable (onely a small Castle standing about half a league from ye town which seemed rather a pallace yn a fortified place) till our comming to Bulloign, which is a small walled town seated on a hill, below which is ye Basville, which is neither defended by walls nor strengthened with ammunition, where we lodged that night & ye next day, by five of ye clock went forward & dined at Montroil,[a] a place situated like ye former. There runs through each of ym a harbour with a strong stream, and in ye last is a fine small church adorned with all things yt can make it pleasent or delightfull to ye sight. We brought night with us, from thence to Barny,[b] a small village where we stayed that night, and ye morning following rode to Abbeville (which is accounted ye half of ye way between Paris & Calais). It is a town seated like all great ones in France in a valley, there are in it severall fine churches wch being beautified with spires dos at your approaching it when on ye hills give a very pleasent prospect. We were there at ye time of ye fair & so saw what there chief merchandise consisted of—namely, flax, hemp, sheep, horses, mules, & such like, & pistols also which are there made & sold in great quantities, it being a place for that sort of work ye most remarquable in France. We layed yt night at Poix, a small village, & ye next day dined at Beauvois, where is nothing considerable but ye Cathedrall which is nowise beneath yt in Canterbury but in ye smallness of it, it being set forth with monuments, stately pillars of brass & marble, fine paintings & carved work. From thence we rode & rested at Tilliard, & betimes ye morning following went to Beaumont, a cleanly town situated by a River's side, with severall small churches & old buildings. We that evening got to Paris, ye way being paved with stones & ye rain yt then fell hindring us from riding fast. We could not see ye city till we were in ye subburbs it standing at ye back of severall very high hills. We lodged in La Rue

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[a] Montreuil.

[b] Bernay.

Truanderie from whence we went to take a view of its curiosities. Y^{e} first thing we took notice of was y^{e} king's statue which is called La Victoire seated all most by y^{e} Louvre in a large square built round with houses of stone of a great height; it stands on a pedestall sixteen or eighteen foot high, of marble. Y^{e} image is gyant like wearing y^{e} cloathes he had on at his Coronation; his posture is upright with a reed in his hand treading on a lyon & an angel behind him in token of Immortality crowning him with laurels. There are at y^{e} corners of y^{e} Pedestall 4 slaves signifying y^{e} 4 seasons of y^{e} year sitting on old armour being chained to it with gold chaines; it is round about full of his titles. Just under his feet is written: Viro immortali[a] Augustus, toto jam nullis hostibus orbe Pacem agit; armato Lodoix pacem imperat orbi.

Something lower is written:

Ludovico magno patri exercituum [et] ductori semper felici.

Domitis hostibus, protectis sociis, adjectis imperio fortissimis populis, extructis ad tutelam finium firmissimis arcibus, oceano & mediterraneo inter se junctis, predari vetitis toto mari piratis, emendatis legibus, delata Calviniana impietate, compulsis ad reverentiam nomin[is], gentibus [r]emotissimis cunctisque summâ providentia & virtute domi forisque compositis. Franciscus vicecomes D'Aubusson dux de la fuillade ex Franciæ paribus & Tribunis equitum, unus, in Allebrogibus, prorex & prætoraniorum peditum prefectus ad memoriam posteritatus sempiternam. P.D.C.

Sa fermité en ses douleurs rasseura ses peuples desoles au mois de Novembre 1686.

Il avoit sur Pied 240,000 hommes d'Infanterie, et 60,000 chevaux sans les troupes de ses armes navales lorsquil donna la paix a l'Europe en l'an 1678.

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[a] The inscriptions are given, with an engraving of the monument itself, in "Description du Monument erigé a la gloire du Roy," par M. le Mareschal Duc de la Feuillade, à Paris, par Sebastien Mabre-Cramois, Imprimeurs du Roy et Directeur de Imprimerie Royale, MDCLXXXVI. Corrections on the text made from this book are placed in square brackets.

This is written on y^e^ front. On y^e^ right side is—

Sequanicam [Cesar gemino][a] vix vincere gente Mense valet Lodoix ter quinta luce subegit.[b] Hic laudum cumulus Ludovico[c] vindice victrix Religio et Pulsus male partis sedibus error.[d] Il a basti plus de cent eglises quils ont de Revenues considerables, et il a etabli l'entretien de quatre cens jeunes damoiselles dans la magnifique maison de S^t^ Cyr.

Deux cent & dix places, fortes, cittadelles, portes & havres fortifiez & revestus depuis 1681 jusqua 1684, 140,000 hommes de pied 30,000 chevaux payez par mois asseurent ses frontieres.

Behind him is,—

Indocilis quondam [potiori cedere][e] Gallos Ponit Iber tumidos fastus et cedere discit[f] A Louis le Grand le pere & conducteur des Armees, avoir vaincu ses ennemis, protegé ses Allies, adjoustés de tres puissants[g] peuples a son empire, asseuré les frontieres par les places impregnables, joint l'ocean à la mediterranee, chassé les pirates de toutes les mers, reformé les loix, detrui l'heresie, porté par la bruit de son nom les nations les plus eloignees à le[h] venir reverer des extremites de la terre & reglé parfaictement toutes choses audedans & au dehors par la Grandeur de son courage & de son genie.

Le nombre de 60,000 matelots enroles dont 20,000 sont employez a son service, & les 40,000 autres au commerce de ses sujets marquez la Grandeur & bon ordre de sa marine. Il a basti un superbe & vaste edifice pour les officiers & soldats que l'age & les blessures rendent incapables de servir & il a attache 500,000l. de rente.

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[a] Cæsar gemino.—MS.

[b] Referring to "La dernière conquête de la Franche Comté, 1674."

[c] Ludovice.—MS.

[d] Referring to "L'hérèsie détruite, 1685."

[e] "Potere indere."—MS.

[f] Referring to "La presance de la France Reconnue par l'Espagne, 1662.'

[g] Puissante.—MS.

[h] La.—MS.

On his left hand is,

Granicum Macedo, Rhenum secat agmine Gallus. Quisquis facta voles conferre & flumina conferre[a] Impia, quæ licuit Regum[b] componere nulli Prœlia, voce tua, Lodoix, composta quiescunt,[c] Apres avoir fait dutiles reglements pour le commerce & reformé les abus de la justice il donna un grand exemple d'equité en jugeant contre ses propres interests en faveur des habitants de Paris dans un affaire de plusieurs milliers.

Six mille jeunes Gentilshommes separez par compagnies gardent ses cittadelles, il en rempli les officiers de ses troupes et leur education & est digne de leur naissance.

The whole is mighty stately & magnificent, it was made by Mr. de Feuillade a gentleman of ye city. There was a young nobleman in ye King's presence not long since who speaking to ye Duke de Feuillard among other discours brought out this verse—

Feuillard par bleu se croy que tu nous berne.
Pour mettre le Soleil entre quatre lanternes.

Its said ye King smiled to hear him; ye English of it is, Feuillard by bleu I believe you laugh at us, to put ye sun between four lanterns. There being at 4 corners of ye square 4 lanterns which are to give light in ye night time to ye guard which is continually there kept. We walked after having taken a full view of ye statue to ye Goblins, ye place where are all sorts of artificers at work for ye King, there is doubtless ye finest tapestry yt eyes can look on, it being made of silver silk & gold, & so naturally done yt no painting whatsoever can represent both men women & all sorts of creatures more lively yn they are there exprest. There is a gallery yt is going to Versailles which is made of a certain stone every inch whereof is worth a great deal more yn gold, it is of a white & grayish colour. There is also a man that is making a table of stone, he has been about it these 3 years & has not yet finished it, it is full of birds and beasts (onely at y^{e} corners where are to be y^{e} King's armes). It is not painted, but stone inlaid so artificially y^{t} in ones judgment there is nothing wanting to set it forth. We being so near would not neglect seeing y^{e} observatoir where lives y^{e} chief Astrologer of y^{e} city; it is a square house built of stone of an indifferent height standing on a hill. He has made severall engines w^{ch} we saw but could understand none of y^{m}; there is a burning glass of so strange a force y^{t} it would melt a copper farthing in a moment & burnes all things y^{t} comes near it if set in y^{e} sun. And also in y^{e} side of y^{e} hill he has built a small room; it is square, & if you put your mouth into any of y^{e} corners & another put his into any of y^{e} others & whispers never so easily you shall understand him very plain, when standing at his back you shall not hear y^{e} least noise.

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[a] Referring to "Le Passage du Rhin, 1672."

[b] Regum licuit in MS.

[c] Referring to "Les Duels Abolis."

As for fine buildings in y^{e} city, they are innumerable: y^{e} chief we took notice were y^{e} pallace otherwise y^{e} l'œuvre, y^{e} pallace of Luxenbourg, y^{e} pallace of Monsieur y^{e} Kings Brother,[a] & y^{e} Invalides. The Lœuvre is a very stately building of stone & so large y^{t} it makes a small town of itself, though y^{e} back part of it be not finished neither doe any suppose it will by this King's days, he taking no delight in y^{e} City. On the west side is y^{e} garden of ye Tuilleres, which is accounted one of y^{e} finest in Europe, there being so many fair gravel walks & fountains, so fine a grove and a theater on which heretofore they used to act, y^{t} y^{e} like are rarely seen. The walks are so made y^{t} at y^{e} end of y^{m}, which is near a mile, you see either a tower or a large portal of y^{t} part of y^{e} l'œuvre y^{t} fronts into the Garden, which is very noble. Next y^{e} Lœuvre comes ye Pallace of Luxembourg, which dos also front into a garden larger y^{n} that of y^{e} Tuilleres, though it comes near it in nothing but y^{e} walkes, which are both long and beautifull; y^{e} house is very large & is built exactly uniform, which adorns it very much. After y^{t} y^{e} pallace of Monsieur y^{e} King's Brother[a] is a very fine building, though neither y^{t} nor y^{e} Garden y^{t} belongs to it be near either of y^{e} former in bigness, there are continually a great number of people walking in those walks every night because when it once begins to be dark they are not so easily permitted into y^{e} former. The Invalides is an edifice worth y^{e} noting, y^{e} King has lately built it for those soldiers of his y^{t} either age or wounds has made uncapable of serving him. It is a building of all y^{e} Hospitals in France, I daresay even in Europe, y^{e} most noble, it seeming to be rather y^{e} pallace of a great Prince y^{n} what it really is. There is in it at present 2,600 soldiers, every one of whom has his bed by himself, and is served every flesh-day with a quarter of pound of meat both noon & night, every fish day with four eggs at each meal, a pint of wine, & for bread they have a pound for two days. They are kept in very good order, being governed by officers y^{t} are in y^{e} same condition with themselves. They keep a good guard there, being continually six hundred in armes. These are y^{e} chiefest rarities we made remarque of in y^{e} city: nothing now remains but a slight description of y^{e} whole city & those curiosities which are to be seen without. The City of Paris is of a great bigness, though, in all our opinions, when we viewed it from one of their steeples it came not near London by a third. It is roundish & in y^{e} largest place is not a league from one side to another. It is adorned with abundance of fine pallaces there being scarce a nobleman but has his house in y^{e} City. There is severall indifferent good streets which would show a great deal better were they adorned as those in London with handsome shops, but there you shall scarcely see any but seems rather to be a Cobler's hole y^{n} of any trade, & pittifull signs to set y^{m} forth, they counting it a very noble one if it cost 15 or twenty livers. There are severall fine Churches but y^{t} which they bragg of so much is that of Notre Dame which was built by y^{e} English.[b] Those they have newly built seem on y^e^ outside like dovehouses, though they be very fine within. Y^e^ Chief are y^e^ Grand Jesuits, y^e^ Val de Grace & y^e^ Carmelites de chausse,[a] in which is Madame la Valiere who is turned Nun. The River Sein y^t^ runns between y^e^ city & subburbs is not very broad or extraordinary deep, it is worth y^e^ seeing, to see what huge flat-bottom boats they make use of to carry their marchandise up & down y^e^ river, there being some of y^m^ y^t^ will contain six or seven hundred tunns & whose rudders are four or five & twenty foot long. There is severall fine bridges over it. New Bridge is y^t^ whereon is constantly y^e^ greatest concourse of people, it being about y^e^ heart of y^e^ city, y^e^ River dos there divide itself; in y^e^ middle of it stands y^e^ late King on horsback, and on y^e^ end next y^e^ City is a fountain casting up water, with our Saviour and y^e^ Samaritan Woman standing by it. The houses through y^e^ whole city are of a great height being some seven, some 8, & some nine stages high; but there being very few together of y^e^ same height it shows but badly.

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[a] The Duke of Orleans.

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[a] The Palais Royal.

[b] This is untrue.

As for those curiosities which we made note of out of the town, we visited one after another, namely Versailles, St. Clue,[b] & y^e^ tresor at Saint Denys.

First we went to Versailles, where a mile before our approaching y^e^ town we had a prospect of y^e^ pallace, it looking down into y^e^ main rode at your going up to it you pass through two very large courts y^e^ least whereof is near a furlong square where you have a view of as fine a building as one can possibly make, it being built of stone & set forth with a great number of turrets & lanterns which, being guilded, dos almost dazle your eyes to look up. As you proceed ascending some steps you pass into a garden where before you, down a large gravel walk, you see a fair small River which y^e^ King has there cut to take his pleasure on, there being severall yotts, one whereof was brought from England by land, a galley royall & severall other boats for his attendants. On y^e right & left hands are two groves wherein are all manner of birds which do there fly up & down & sing very melodiously. There is through the whole garden, which is of a vast bigness, such curious water works, as horses, cows, toads, & such like, casting up water out of their noses, eares, mouths, & eyes, as is very strange, & in y^t grove on y^e left hand you see all Esops Fables, namely all y^e birds beasts & other creatures spitting water one at another. There are also y^e finest images of marble y^t can be seen, & so well done y^t you can hardly perswade yourself y^t they are dumb statues. After having walked about y^e garden & viewed y^e vast number of strange flowers & plants that were there, we went into y^e Pallace, where we had y^e honour to see y^e King, Monsieur, & y^e Dauphiness at dinner with abundance of y^e nobility standing round y^e table. Y^e Dauphin was that day gone a hunting y^e wolf, a sport he takes great delight in, though not long after we saw him at Paris by y^e place of Victoire. The dinner y^e King had was but ordinary, there being a dish of soupe, some chickens & a quarter of lamb, of all which he made no scruple to eat though on a Friday. Before our entrance into y^e Chamber we had a caution given us by one of y^e company to take care of our pocketts, though y^e same person, before he stir'd out of y^e chamber, had six or seven guineas & a louis do'r taken out of his. From thence we walked to y^e Minagerie, where are all y^e strange creatures y^e King has. We saw there a muscovite cat, a leopard, a red & white fox, a bird y^t has neither wings nor feathers but a kind of hair all over his body, severall ostriches, geese and ducks of all sorts, & colours, & y^t we took for y^e greatest raritie were y^e pelicians, they have their body about y^e bigness of a goose, their neck & leggs being short, a long bill with a fleshy matter hanging on it, they did, contrary to our expectation, take y^e water as freely as any other birds. After having took notice of y^m all we went back to the Pallace where (y^e King being y^e next day to part for Luxembourg) we had a sight of his mules, who being laden were just then a going away, they are stately beasts & all of y^{e} same height & colour. But to return to y^{e} Castle as tis called, it is a saying of y^{e} French that after having seen Versailles there remains nothing worth y^{e} seeing in France, and certainly nothing can by art be made more noble, but it is almost impossible for a person y^{t} never saw it to judge of y^{e} greatness of y^{e} work, y^{e} greatest fault that can be found with it, is in its situation, which is extraordinary bad, it being in y^{e} summer time nothing but dust, & in y^{e} winter but dirt. The noblemen's houses y^{t} are round about it are very high & well built, they are all of stone & being new do show mighty well. There is a latin verse on a pillar w^{ch} we took great notice of, y^{e} words I have forgot but y^{e} sence I'me sure in English is thus:

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[a] Deschaussées.

[b] St. Cloud.

This was heretofore a chaos but at y^{e} word of Louis y^{e} fourteenth all these things appeared.

The next curiosity we saw was y^{e} Pallace of Monsieur y^{e} King's Brother at Saint Clue, a small town about 2 leagues from Paris, it is counted by all that see it, for pleasure to exceed Versailles, and onely by reason of its situation, it being seated on a hill of a great height from whence you have a full prospect of y^{e} City. On y^{e} side of y^{e} hill there being so many delicate medows, at y^{e} bottom y^{e} garden & at y^{e} back of y^{t} y^{e} River Sein, which is y^{e} great cause of its being so continually clean y^{e} water draining into y^{e} River. Y^{e} house is very fine within, but not anyways beautifull without, y^{e} greatest satisfaction y^{t} is hereto be taken is in seeing y^{e} gardens, & y^{e} walks, which are so shaded in summer y^{t} tis impossible for sun or rain anyways to molest you, they are not gravel'd but are nevertheless very hard there being men always beating y^{m}. It is set forth throughout with all things y^{t} can please either sight or smell, for y^{e} smell with flowers & for y^{e} sight with both Images and Fountains not much inferior to those at Verseilles.

After y^{t} we visited y^{e} Thresor at St. Denys which is kept by Benedictine Friars in y^{e} Church. There are a great many relicks, which being garnished with all manner of precious stones, silver, and gold, are of inestimable value. First in a great Cross of Gold enricht with pearles and jewels there is a piece of ye true cross on which Our Saviour was crucified, there is a thorn of his Crown, a piece of ye sponge & some of ye water & blood yt came out of His side, one of the nails wherewith He was nailed, & one of ye pitchers wherein was ye water He changed into wine, one of the lanterns yt was with Judas when he betrayed Him, all full of stones and pearles. There is also ye sword of Joan of Arc, ye head of St. Denys which he brought with him from ye Suburbs of Paris under his arm after it was cut of, set in gold & so many other relicks as teeth, pieces of ye sculls of their Saints & such like as would fill ye book to describe ym. After we had seen ym all we went down into ye Church where all ye Kings Queens and Princes of France are emtombed. We took notice of nothing there yt was curious ye monuments being raised from ye ground with ye Portraitures of those who were enterred under ym very plainly cut. At our return from thence into ye City we met with a great procession of Priests who carried ye thigh of Saint Honoré wch the Pope had sent thither, it cost a hundred thousand livers, it delivers all women from their pains when they pray to it, & dos many more miracles which I have now forgotten. After having seen it pass we returned to our lodgins, where we stayed some small time till we had taken places in ye coach & did on ye eleventh of May proceed towards Lyons, ye first day dining at Meloin,[a] a small village not having anything in it worth ye noting. From thence we rode to Pont,[b] where we stayed that night. We passed not through any towns of importance till our coming to Sens, which is but small consisting but of one good street, though it be an Archbishop's seat. We that forenoon dined at Arse[c] and so rode to Ancillafranck,[d] we lodged there and y^e^ morning following went to Florentine[a] & so direct on to Dijon, which is a large town & of indifferent trade, & wherein is y^e^ Parliament kept for y^e^ Province of Burgogne. We from thence rode to Chalon;[b] y^e^ coach going no further we there took water for Macon, where laying we did, on Sunday y^e^ fifteenth of May, arrive at Lyons. We had a very pleasant journey & good weather, y^e^ way is very smooth we going for y^e^ most part over plains, some of which are ten leagues over. Y^e^ Provence of Burgogne, being heretofore a Sovereignty of itself, there is scarce a town, though never so small, but is walled, though now they fall to decay, being no wise looked after. Besides y^t^ Provence we came through part of Madmoiselles[c] country, which is called Dombe, y^e^ People, there acknowledging no other Prince y^n^ her, & y^e^ Lawyers doing all things in her name. We passed by Trevoux, a small walled town in her Provence; it is at present y^e^ only soveraing place in France: it stands by y^e^ side of y^e^ Soane. It goes to nothing now every day there being few or no houses in it. At our arrivall at Lyons we took up our lodgins at y^e^ Golden Tunn y^t^ being near y^e^ heart of y^e^ City. The first place we visited was y^e^ Jesuits Colledge in y^e^ Court, whereof we saw all manner of Pictures so excellently well drawn y^t^ all France cannot show y^e^ like. They shew us their Library, which is large, there is above ten thousand books of all sorts both historicall, philosophicall & sacred & yet they are going to enlarge it. We saw y^e^ Holy Scripture translated ten or twelve severall wayes by their Fathers & Saints. Some time after we went to S^t^ John's Church,[d] which is very fine, adorned like others of y^e^ same nature with Crosses, Pictures & such like; but y^e^ chief rarity that is here to be seen is y^e^ clock. I shall say no great matter of it but refer you to y^e^

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[a] Melan.

[b] Pont-sur-Yonne.

[c] Arces.

[d] Ancy-le-Franc. St. Florentor lies between Arces and Ancy-le-Franc.

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[a] This seems to be a mistake.

[b] Chalon-sur-Saône.

[c] La Grande Mademoiselle, daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans.

[d] The Cathedral.

description I have of it, which I do assure you is both full & true. From thence we went to the Hospitall where are all manner of sick & aged persons who knowing no ways to help themselves are taken in here. It is a handsome building, but not like y^e Charity, which being near also visited. It is of a great circumference & being of stone seems like some lord's habitation y^n y^e dwelling of inferme persons. It dos contain a vast number of people of all ages & conditions, there are at least two thousand bastards which are put out to nurse at its charge & almost as many y^t are continually there who, as they grow up, do work, some of whom twister, others net, &c. We saw there severall protestant women who are coop't up into a little yard & are fed with nothing but bread & water. We would fain have gone into their yard to have talk't wth them, but demanding leave were answered y^t it was not permitted to any to goe to them. We ascending some steps went into their corn chamber, we seeing it large measured it & found it an hundred and fifty paces long & twenty five broad. It was full of wheat from one end to y^e other, there is 60 ryemen to turn it every day, they eat very good victualls of all sorts & drink nothing but Ptisanne which an Apothecary (whom they there maintain) dos make. There number may be guest if y^u consider y^e quantity of bread they eat, there being baked every week six hundred loafs weighing six pounds a piece. The next & greatest rarity & which was really worth y^e going from Paris thither to see, is M^r. Cerviere's Cabinet, a Gentleman of y^e City, Curiosities y^t he himself has made since twenty years, he is about four score years old y^e greatest part of which time he has spent in y^e King of France his service, but his decaying age as he told us he thought he could better spend in employing it yn idly. There are so many strange things y^t tis impossible to relate y^e hundred part of them, y^e first he shew, & which he made since he began to be lame was a chair which running on wheels can by a scrue be guided by those y^t set in it with y^e greatest ease imaginable either backwards or forwards as they please, after he shew us perpetuall motion contrived severall ways, one whereof is by an hour glass which standing before a great box dos when y^e^ sand is run from y^e^ upper into y^e^ under glass turn of itself & on y^e^ front of y^e^ box one after another appears all y^e^ houres of y^e^ day very exact & when once set true never fails—y^e^ other are wyers placed round on which you put a ball which being at y^e^ bottom is by an engine cast up again & so goes continually. He has a clock which stands on an instrument he has made of thin dale & tapring round down y^e^ height of two foot it goes from the top to y^e^ bottom once a week at y^e^ term of which time it is removed up again; it is made so artificially that if it be set on an even table or stool it goes not at all but on its own instrument, never stops till it be taken of. There are all sorts of engines for fortification and battery made very ingeniously, there is a bridge y^t^ has neither pillars to support or nails to hold it together & yet is very strong & handsome. There is another he made for y^e^ King when he had wars in Flanders built on a boat to be drawn w^th^ wheels when on places where little water, it is to be doubled up for y^e^ more convenience. He has for those that understand y^e^ Mathematicks all manner of curiosities; he has turned very fine things on Ivory, to say plainly there is hardly any thing y^t^ is curious to be named but you find it there. He is almost blind & yet he takes y^e^ greatest delight imaginable in showing y^m^ not to every person but to those y^t^ look any way civill he makes no scruple at all.

At our being at Lyons we one day took boat for Neuve Ville[a] a small town about two leagues from y^e^ City, to see y^e^ Archbishop's house; it stands by y^e^ water side very pleasently. Tis an old Castle though no ways fortified, there is on y^e^ backside a park of at least three leagues about & for all its great circumference it is walled round with a very high wall. There are in it abundance of deer of y^e^ largest size. He is a great lover of hunting & to y^t^

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[a] Neuville-sur-Saône.

end he keeps a stable with a great many good horses & a hundred & fifty hounds y^e finest that ever I saw, some of y^m are as high as any ordinary greyhound. We saw him as he was walking in his garden after dinner, he is a little old man cloathed like y^e meanest Paisant of all; every thing he had on, if at a mart, I dare say would not have sold at ten shillings; he is about 80 years old & is also much troubled with y^e gout & yet he is one of those that follow y^e stagg y^e closest, & for y^e most part is nearest him at his death. The garden is small but there are in it fine walks covered overhead so thick with roses & sucklings y^t at your being under y^m besides y^e pleasant smell they give, they hinder the sunn from troubling you. There are both fountains & images but there being nothing extraordinary in y^m shall pass them by. At y^e end of one of y^e walks there is a Banqueting house, which is painted indifferently well, but there is a small black table of stone which did deceive us all there being a pack of cards so curiously well inlaid in y^e stone y^t we offered to take them up & when we saw how it was we could the least difference between them & reall ones. After having taken a view of all y^t we thought anyway curious we returned to Lyons, where we saw on y^e Feste Dieu which was y^e day after y^e great procession which is constantly every year made on y^t Feast; first there went four or five thousand men, each one carrying a lamp in his hand, next went y^e Priests in their surplices singing as they passed, two of y^e last of them cast Incense before y^e host which after was carried by a Priest under a Canopy supported by four more; after them went almost as many men as there were before; it shew very finely & y^t which added to its setting forth were y^e streets, which were hung & adorned with Altars & Crucifixes.

The City of Lyons is large & a place of extraordinary great trade, they having some privileges beyond any other city in France; it is seated on two rivers y^e Soan & y^e Rhosne, over each of which is a fair stone bridge, the walls run out a great way beyond y^e houses, they are not strengthened by ammunition but are very strong as built on a perfect rock. From Lyons ye twenty-fifth May we came forwards Rohan[a] dining at La breele,[b] a small town of little note, we layed yt night at Terrara[c] such a place as ye former & ye next morning got to St cefarion[d] & so to Roan, where we took water, it is a pretty town having ye River[e] coming up to the walls; it being extreem bad weather at our being there, we had not ye oppertunity of seeing it. We took boat the twenty-seventh of May about 9 of ye clock in ye morning & yt night something late got to Digoin, from whence betimes ye morning following we went towards Decise[f] where we arrived about ten of ye clock, & so saw nothing of ye town, which nevertheless we perceived to be but small. Ye next day we came to la Charité, a small walled town with a bridge cross ye River supported with sixteen or 18 arches, from thence ye forenoon after we got Nevers,[g] which being ye half of ye way & a pretty place we stopped an hour to dine. There they make all manner of glass toyes as snuff boxes & ye stones of rings, some of which are donne so well as seem to be reall. That night we stayed at Gene,[h] between which place and Chatteauneuf where we lodged ye night; after we took notice of Sancer,[i] a walled town about half a league from ye River seated on a high hill which Charles ye Fifth besieged with an army of fifty thousand men for ye space of six weeks and at last was forced shamefully to raise his siege. We intended to go that day for Orleans but ye wind blowing something harder then ordinary & our boatmen not being accustomed to such weather we layed six leagues short; but, ye wind appeasing ye next morning, we soon got to town; we stayed there three or four days to see it, it is indifferent large & very clean with good streets & well built houses, though ye churches that be there be no ways fine. There are several handsome walks one whereof, which is a decayed Mell, being set thick with trees, is mightily frequented especially at or about midnight, at which time all y^e^ young persons of y^e^ town are without fail there. There is a fair bridge over y^e^ River at one end whereof is placed y^e^ statue of Joan of Arc la pucell D'orleans with our Saviour on her lap, two warriors playing by her & behind her a cross crowned with laurells. Every year, on a certain day, all y^e^ soldiers of y^e^ town are in armes to preserve her memory. The second June about nine of y^e^ clock we took boat for Blois, where we arrived before sunset; we stayed there two or three days to see its rarities which we expected to have been a great many more y^n^ we found them to be, it being a town next after Paris, as much spoken of as any in France, but contrariwise did find it a small place with scarce one good house & not one good street in it. The reason of its being so much resorted to is y^e^ pleasentness of its situation, there being on y^e^ other side y^e^ water very fine plains & two large forests y^t^ are full of deer. Behind it abundance of curious walks, some of which are near two miles long.

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[a] Roanne.
[b] L'Arbresle.
[c] Tarare.
[d] St. Simphorien.
[e] The Loire.
[f] Decize.
[g] This is another mistake, Nevers lying between Decize and La Charité.
[h] Gien.
[i] Sancerre really lies between La Charité and Gien.

June y^e^ 4^th^ we came to Amboise, a small town on y^e^ River, there is nothing extraordinary but y^e^ Castle, which dos also now fall to decay every day, it is of a good bigness & could be made very strong, it being built on y^e^ side of a hill, but it being in an inland town it is not regarded. In y^e^ chappell y^t^ is in it hangs those famous buck's horns we had heard so much discourse of in our travelling. We took great notice of them, they being eleven foot and a half long and eight over. There is also a bone that came out of his neck which ordinarily is not above 6 inches about, & is there above three foot. There are also 4 of his ribs which are two yards and a half long. He was nine hundred years old at his taken, and tis three hundred since. From thence we took boat for Tours, not remarking anything in our way but y^e^ chappell of Notre Dame de bon desire, where are wrought miracles every day at Tours. We took up our quarters at S^t^ Louis, where we staid two days to see y^e^ town. It is about ye bigness of Orleans but seated on a plain where as y^e^ other is seated on a hill, there are in it pleasent streets running from one end to y^e^ other and severall high spires especially two on y^e^ Cathedrall which adorns the Town.

June y^e^ Sixth we came to Saumur where we were set ashore at y^e^ famous Chapple of Notre Dame des Ardiliers, who is there worshipped & who dos work a great many more miracles y^n^ ever our Saviour did in curing all sorts of distempers. The image is small & of stone holding her son on her lap with one of his armes hanging down. They say it was sent from God, no one knowing its origin. The Chapple it stands in is very fine there being constantly a great concourse of Pilgrims from all parts who come to pay their devotions to Our Lady, there being Mass said night & day. We from thence went into town, where staying two days we took notice of it but saw nothing rare in it, y^e^ houses being old, no handsome streets & y^e^ circumference of y^e^ whole not great.

June y^e^ Eight we came to Angers, which is a fine Town set forth with large streets, well built houses & neat curious Churches, but is since this last persecution very much depopulated. Our stay there was but short being willing to be at Nantes where we arrived y^e^ 10th about four o'clock in y^e^ afternoon; we were all of us tired with being in y^e^ boat so long & so were resolved to rest ourselves there some days, in which time had leisure to view y^e^ whole town which is indifferent large, high houses & a good key for their ships, it stands about 30 miles from y^e^ sea & is y^e^ last town of note on y^e^ River Loire; this River runns up into countrey very near two hundred leagues; y^e^ greatest fault there is is its want of water; there being above Nantes bridge not four foot water & in some places not two, yet something lower y^n^ y^e^ town, ships of good burther ride at anchor; there are at least twelve or fourteen bridges over this River, y^e^ most considerable whereof is y^t^ at Orleans, which is supported by three or four and twenty arches.

June ye 15th we took horse for Rennes dining at a small village called Bout de Bois, which consisted not of above three or four houses, one of which being an Inn received all passengers y^t^ goe y^t way, there being no other town near. That night we layed at Deervall[a] a little village from whence y^e next morning we got to Bien,[b] where dining we got into Rennes betimes; we stayed there some short time to see it, but took notice of nothing extraordinary but y^e Pallace; which is a very fine piece containing severall large Roomes especially that where y^e Parliament sitts, which is both painted and hung with curious Tapestry of Silk, y^e other roomes are for y^e most part cieled with wanscot carved. The Parliament which used constantly to be here for y^e Provence of Bretagne is now removed to Vannes, a town of less remarque. From Rennes we took horse towards Cain; passing to Sautager[c] (where we dined). We were forced to goe through a very dangerous forest which though small there are a great many people loose their lives in it. There were not above a week or 8 days before our being there severall men taken out & condemned. We layed that night at Montanall[d] & next morning took in our way some small observation of Mount St. Michell, a rock so called. It is about a musquett shott from y^e shore & has a fair Chapple built on it, wherein are kept thirty fryars; there are abundance of Pillgrims goe thither from all parts. We soon got to Avranche, where dining we rode to Pont farci.[e] We layed there, y^e day following we stopped at Blanche maison, from whence by five of y^e clock we got to Caen. We lodged there four or five nights finding it very pleasant. The town is seated in a large valley having on y^e south side meadows with such fine walks as when out of y^e walks you seem rather to be in y^e Country then near so great a place. It is large, beautified with good Streets, well built houses & stately spires. There are ten Parish Churches besides 18 Convents, which have every one their Chappel. Y^e most remarqueable is y^e Abbay of S^t Stephen, which is kept by Benedictines, it is of a great bigness, in y^e heart of it stands y^e^ monument of William y^e^ Conquerour covered w^th^ a black marble stone about eight foot long, at each end are his coat of Armes & on y^e^ sides are written:

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[a] Derval.

[b] Bain-de-Bretagne.

[c] Can this be St. Aubin ?

[d] Montanel.

[e] Pont Farcy, on the Viro.

Hoc Sepulchrum invictissimi juxta &[a] clementissimi Conquestoris Gulielmi, dum vixeret,[b] Anglorum Regis, Normanorum, Cenomarumque[c] Principis, hujus insignis Abbatiæ pissimi[d] fundatoris. Cum A.D. 1562[e] vesano hæreticorum furoro direptum fuisset; pio tandem nobilium ejusdem Abbatiæ Religiosorum gratitudinis sensu in tam Beneficium,[f] Largitorem instauratum fuit, A.D. 1642. Domino Joanne de Bailhache acceterij[g] protopriore.[h]

On y^e^ other side:

Qui rexit rigidos Normanos atque Britannos
  Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cerromanenses virtute coercuit enses
  Imperijque sui legibus applicuit.
Rex magnus parvâ jacet Gulielmus in urnâ
  Sufficit & magno parva Domus Domino
Ter septem gradibus se volverat atque duobus
  Virginis in gremio Phœbus[i] . . hic obijt.

We lodged at the Royall Place, which is a fine square, in y^e^ middle whereof stands y^e^ King's statue of white marble and on y^e^ pedestall are written a great many of his deeds, which being of y^e^

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[a] "Juxta et" is omitted in the inscription as given by Hippeau, L'Abbaye de Saint Etienne de Caen, Caen, 1885.

[b] Viveret, Hippeau.

[c] Cœnomanorumque, *Ib.*

[d] Piissimi, *Ib.*

[e] Anno, *Ib.*

[f] Beneficum, *Ib.*

[g] Asceterii, *Ib.*

[h] Hippeau adds that the following was added according to a MS. published by Bouet and M. Bordeau, but omitted by Ducarel:—"Per Mathæum de la Dangie de Renchi, Doctorem et celerarium hujus Abatiæ, D.D."

[i] "et" is omitted after Phœbus.

same nature with those on y^{e} place of Victoire at Paris, I shall omit them. Their harbour is not worth y^{e} naming, it seeming to be liker a Dike y^{n} a receipt for ships.

From Caen, June y^{e} 21 we came for Rouen, dining at Pont Evêque.[a] We got to Pont eau de mer,[b] where laying we the next day arrived by 3 of y^{e} clock in y^{e} Afternoon in y^{e} City. We stayed some small time there to see it, but found it, though bigger, neither so handsome nor so pleasent a place as Caen, y^{e} houses being old and y^{e} streets very narrow. It is a town of great trade, being full of shops from one end to y^{e} other. There is a fine key which on that side dos show very well, y^{e} Churches are fair, so is y^{e} Pallace, which is great help to y^{e} adorning of y^{e} Town.

June y^{e} 25th we came from thence to Diepe where (being desirous to get something more then we had in y^{e} French languidge) we stayed a moneth, at y^{e} end of which time we went to board about 3 leagues in y^{e} Country for as much longer, which being also expired we returned to town, in order to our passing through Flanders & Holland. It is a place of good bigness, there is in it 2 parishes & 4 or 5 good streets, the chief whereof & which is not much inferior to any I have seen in France, is y^{e} Grand Rue, not y^{t} the buildings are any way sumpteous, but that they are of an even height, and extraordinary streight. August y^{e} 25th we took horse for St. Omer, dining at Eu, a small walled town about half a league from y^{e} sea. There is in it ye house of Mademoisell y^{e} King's Aunt,[c] which is without gardens. It fronts into y^{e} coast and has pleasent walks on either side it. She was not there that day, being gone to a farm of hers about three miles from thence. We laid at Abbeyville & y^{e} morning following got wet through to y^{e} skin to Edin,[d] a place which has heretofore been a frontier & so is of good strength. We were carried before y^{e} Mayor, who was very civill & seemed to be mighty angry that y^{e} Guards, after having declared ourselves to be English, should offer to stop us. We could not get that night to St. Omer, wherefore took up our lodging at Fruges, from whence yᵉ next day got soon to town. The first thing we visited was yᵉ English Jesuits Colledge, which is now rebuilding, the greatest part of it being about 3 years since burnt to the ground, it will be very fine when finished but as yet can see little of it.

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[a] Pont l'Evêque.

[b] Pont Audemer.

[c] The King's first cousin.

[d] Nesdin. Hesdin

		£	s.	d.
April 6.	For a Coat ...	1	15	6
	For a Sword ...	1	0	0
„ 8.	For my passage to Gravesend ...	0	2	0
	For horse hire to Sittenborn ...	0	5	9
„ 9.	For charges at Sittenborn ...	0	2	4
	For horse hire to Canterbury ...	0	4	8
„ 10.	For charges at Canterbury ...	0	7	6
„ 11.	For hors hire to Dover	0	4	3
„ 12.	For charges at Dover	0	7	0
	For passage to Callice	0	8	6
	For carriage of cloaths and boat	0	2	6
		5	0	0

		£	s.	d.
April 13.	Received of Mr. Hays*	20	0	0
„ 16.	Received of Mr. Hays	55	0	0
		75	0	0
		71	0	0
		4	0	0

		Ls.	sous.
April 13.	For landing ...	0	13
„ 14.	For money paid at Custom House ...	2	0
	For charges at Callice	1	16
„ 15.	For charges at Dunkirk ...	2	18
	For charges at Mardike ...	0	12
	For washing ...	1	0
„ 16.	For charges at Callice	2	7
„ 17.	For charges at Callice	1	17
„ 18.	For hors hire to Dunkirk ...	4	10
	For hors hire to Paris	36	0
	For portage of hardes to Paris ...	1	18
	For sealing y^e portmantles ...	0	5
	For Father Athanase	0	10
	For charges at Calais	3	16
„ 23.	For y^e Messenger ...	1	14
	For charges on y^e road	2	0
	For portage hardes to lodging ...	0	3
„ 24.	For y^e barber ...	0	4
	For charges at Marquise ...	0	9
	For a whip ...	0	13
„ 26.	For charges at l'Image St. Jaquey	3	0
	For change of Flanders money ...	0	13
	For Sisors and Flute	0	12
„ 27.	For a Cravat String	1	10
		71	0

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* The amounts in France are in livres and sous.

		Ls.	sous.
April 25.	Rest due other side ...	4	0
	Received of Mrs. Conteulx	210	0
May 10.	Received of Ditto Messieurs	120	0
		334	0
		141	3
		192	17

		Ls.	sous.
April 28.	For housekeeping...	2	10
	For my coat ...	68	0
„ 30.	For mending my shoes	0	9
	For houskeeping ...	24	0
May 1.	For a letter ...	0	10
	For dinner abroad...	1	0
„ 2.	For hois hire to Versailes ...	4	6
	For charges there...	1	10
„ 3.	For coach hire to Bois Vincent and charges... ...	3	16
„ 4.	For coach hire to St. Denys and charges... ...	3	12
„ 5.	For boat hire to and from St. Clou ...	0	8
	For charges there...	3	14
„ 6.	For yᵉ Chirurgeon...	2	0
	For charges and coach hire to yᵉ incurables ...	3	0
„ 7.	For seeing yᵉ opera	1	10
	For washing ...	1	10
„ 11.	For charges at Paris	11	0
	For washing my hose	0	18
	For our chambers...	10	0
	For seeing yᵉ comedy... ...	1	10
„ 12.	For expenses at Paris	3	0
	For supper given Mr. Cox & Coy on coming from Paris	3	0
		141	3

	Ls.	sous.
Rest due p' other side	...192	17
	140	3
	52	14

			Ls.	sous.
May	12.	For Coachire to Lyons	75	0
		For portage of hardes to coach ...	0	12
		For portage of hardes to Lyons ...	2	12
		For expenses at Paris	1	10
„	15.	For y^e^ Coachman...	1	0
		For carriage of hardes to Lodgings	0	3
		For boat hire up y^e^ River	0	15
		For spent on y^e^ road	3	0
„	17.	For paid at Post-house	0	4
„	„	For mending my cloaths... ...	0	8
„	18.	For y^e^ Clock S^t^ John	0	12
		For a writing book	0	8
		For seeing Mr. Cuvier's Cabinet...	1	10
		For charges at Lyons	7	0
„	20.	For boathire to and from N. Ville ...	0	15
		For charges there...	2	0
„	21.	For washing ...	1	0
		For seeing y^e^ 2 hospitalls ...	1	12
		For mending my sword	1	0
„	23.	For charges at Lyons	9	0
		For a letter ...	0	10
		For cloathing y^e^ boy	3	12
		For expenses at Lyons	2	0
June	1.	For charges from Lyon to Orleans...	24	0
			140	3

			Ls.	sous.
June	2.	Rest due p' other side	51	14
		Received of Mr. Geuneband ...	48	0
			99	14
			42	8
			57	6

			Ls.	sous.
June	1.	To a pay^r shoes ...	3	0
„	2.	For washing ...	0	14
		For a pay^r gloves...	1	0
„	3.	For a knife ...	0	2
		For an inkhorn ...	0	6
		For charges at Orleans ...	7	10
		For boathire to Bloys	1	0
„	4.	For charges at Bloys	6	10
		For boathire to Tours	1	
„	„	For carriage of cloaths... ...	0	4
„	6.	For charges there...	4	5
		For boathire to Amboise ...	1	0
„	7.	For charges there...	3	0
		For seeing y^e hornes	0	3
„	8.	For charges at M. Turro	2	13
		For boathire to Saumur ...	1	0
		For charges there...	3	5
„	9.	For boathire to Angers... ...	1	0
		For charges there...	2	0
	10.	To boathire to Nantes... ...	1	0
		For carriage of things	0	4
		For y^e barber ...	0	4
		For washing ...	0	10
		For mending my coat	0	15
		For mending my shoes	0	3
			42	8

		Ls.	sous.
June 10th.	Rest p' other side	57	6
	Received of Mr. Devonne Lucas ...	60	0
„ 26.	Received of Mr. Minuel... ...	92	0
July 27.	Received of ditto Minuel ...	30	0
		239	6
		110	15
		128	11

		Ls.	sous
June 14.	For charges at Nantes... ...	12	10
	For horshire to Rennes... ...	11	0
	For portage of cloaths... ...	2	0
	For given Messenger	0	10
„ 15.	For charges at Rennes... ...	2	0
	For a false scabbard	0	5
„ 17	For horshire to Caen	23	0
	For given Messenger	0	15
„ „	For given Servants from Lyons to Caen	4	0
	For expenses from Lyons to Caen ...	5	0
	For a pay^{r} Shoes ...	3	0
	For our male ...	3	0
„ 20.	For charges at Caen	6	0
	For y^{e} Dog ...	1	0
	For horshire to Rouen	16	0
„ 23.	For charges there	3	10
, 24.	For horshire to Diepe	6	0
	For charges at Diepe	5	0
27.	For horshire to Lunary ...	1	10
	For Ivory toys ...	3	0
	For Franciou ...	1	5
	For letters from Merseille ...	0	7
28.	For a letter ...	0	3
		110	15

	Ls.	sous.
Rent due pᵗ other side	...128	11
	55	4
	73	7

		Ls.	sous.
June 28.	For washing ...	1	0
„ 30.	For a Sundial ...	1	10
July 1.	For charges at Diepe	7	10
„ 4.	For Don Quixot ...	1	10
	For a letter ...	0	6
	For yᵉ Barber ...	0	4
	For charges at Diepe	3	5
	For mending my cloaths	0	10
„ 7.	For charges at Diepe	5	10
„ 8.	For washing my hose	0	12
	For a payʳ gloves...	1	0
„ 11.	For charges at Diepe	5	0
	For a cane ...	1	5
„ 14.	For charges at Diepe	4	16
	For yᵉ bobins ...	7	0
	For a letter ...	0	3
	For a letter ...	0	6
	For washing ...	1	3
„ 15.	For mending my shoes	0	8
„ 19.	For charges at Diepe	7	0
	For yᵉ cane heads...	3	0
„ 20.	For toys sent Sister	1	16
	For a letter ...	0	6
	For yᵉ barber ...	0	4
		55	4

		Ls.	sous.
	Rest due as p' other side ...	73	7
Aug. 24.	To a liver miscast up	1	0
	Received of Mr. Minull ...	50	0
		124	7
		62	19
		61	8

			Ls.	sous.
July	20.	To washing ...	0	10
„	22.	To a p^{r} garters ...	0	7
„	23.	For charges at Diepe ...	6	6
		To horshire to Lunary...	1	10
„	27.	To clear at Diepe...	4	10
		For given servants	0	15
		P^{d} & spent while at Diepe ...	6	0
		For portage of hardes to Lunary ...	0	10
Aug.	6.	For charges at Diepe	6	0
		For a map of France	1	10
		For y^{e} Place de Victoire ...	0	2
		For y^{e} king's picture	0	1
		For my sword mending & for a new scabbard ...	1	10
„	7.	For paper ...	0	4
		For pens and ink ...	0	2
„	„	For needles and thread ...	0	2
		For Reveille matin	0	12
		For my shoes mending	0	12
		For portage of y^{e} Dictionary ...	0	3
„	24.	For board in y^{e} country...	25	0
		For bringing hardes to Diepe ...	0	0
„	25.	For a pay^{r} shoes ...	3	0
		For charges at Diepe ...	2	15
		For y^{e} Tailour ...	0	8
			62	9

	Ls.	sous.
Rest due p' other side ...	61	8
	29	9
	31	19

		G.	st.
Aug. 25.	For greasing my boats	0	6
„ 28.	For horshire and charges from Dieppe to S^t Omer	25	10
	For my hat ...	3	10
	For a letter ...	0	3
		29	9

	G.	st.
By 31 livers 19 sols French is gilders ...	25	11*
Received of Col Brown ...	60	0
	85	11
	64	4
	21	7

		G.	st.
„ 28.	For charges at S^t Omer	2	0
	For boathire to Dunkirk ...	0	14
„ 29.	For charges at Dunkirk ...	1	15
	For boathire to Fursne	0	9
„ 30.	For charges there...	1	5
	For waggonhire to Ostend	0	15
	For charges there...	0	10
„ 31.	For boathire to Bruges	0	15
	For charges there...	1	17
	For portage of hardes thither ...	0	16
	For boathire to Newport ...	0	7
	For charges there...	0	7
	For boathire to Sluys	0	10
	For charges there...	6	17
	For passage to Rotterdam ...	1	16
	P^d portage ...	0	3
	P^d at quarters ...	0	10
	For passage to Turgow ...	0	14
	P^d on y^e road ...	0	4
	P^d for Will ..	15	0
	P^d Mr. John ...	27	0
		64	4

Remaining as p' other side	21	7

To charges at Turgow ...	1	0

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* Amount in Gilders and Stivers.

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